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THE GRAVES

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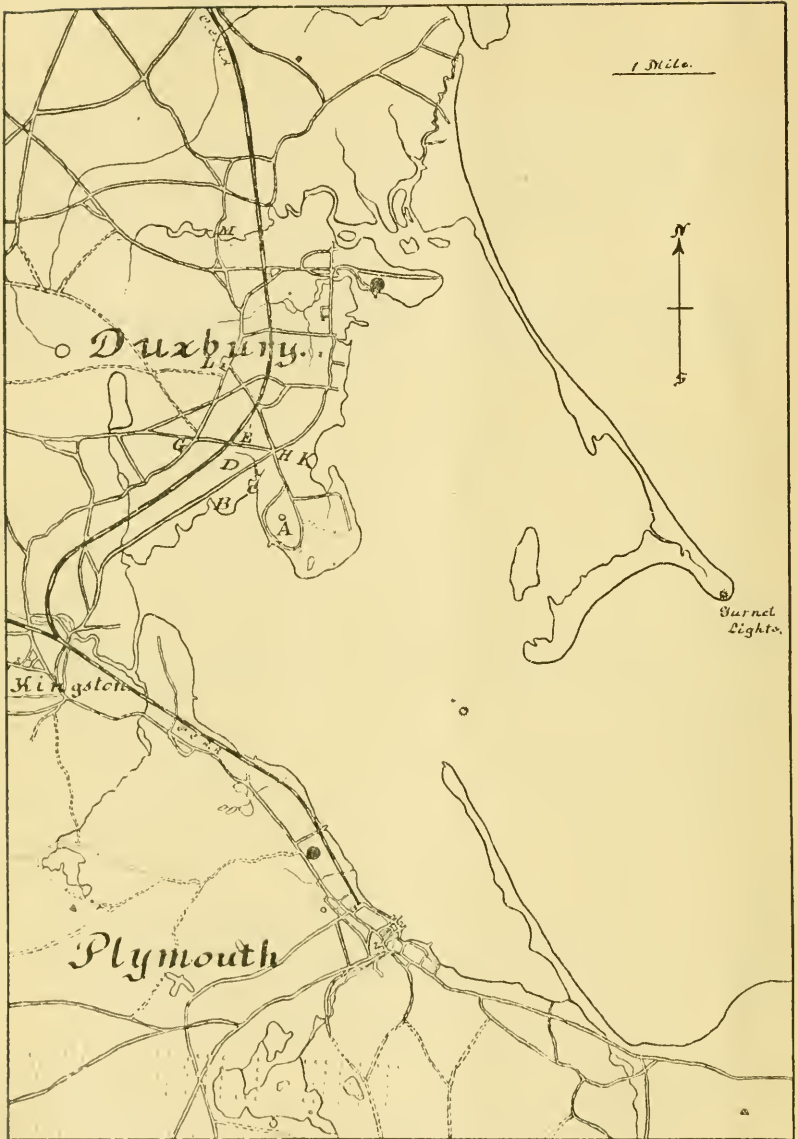
MYLES STANDISH

— AND —

OTHER PILGRIMS.

BY REV. E. J. V. HUGINN.

BOONVILLE, N. Y.
HERALD AND TOURIST STEAM PRINTING HOUSE.
1892.



A. Captain's Hill, the site of Standish monument. B. Mrs. Thomas Chandler's. C. Morton's Hole. D. George Frank Ryder's. E. Graveyard where Standish is buried. G. Bayley's Corner, to the west of which is Fernando Wadsworth's. H. Hall's Corner. K. Harden Hill. L. Present graveyard, in use since 1783, A. D. M. Mill Brook, on the road to Duck Hill and Marshfield.

1894
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The Graves of Myles Standish and Other Pilgrims.

BY REV. E. J. V. HUIGINN.

CHAPTER I.

Writers of fiction and writers of history have said that the grave of Myles Standish, the famous Captain of Plymouth, is unknown and must forever remain unknown. This we might believe, if we knew that the writers alluded to had examined all the evidence in existence about the matter. But it is certain they did not do so, and now for the first time evidence will be produced that will place the identity of the grave of Standish beyond all possibility of dispute. This evidence is taken from the town records of Duxbury and from other ancient documents, from a thorough examination of the places referred to in these documents, and from living witnesses of memorials of the Captain's grave.

It is acknowledged on all hands that Standish died in 1636 and that he was buried in Duxbury. He died on the 3d of October, "a man full of years and honored by his generation." Secretary Nathaniel Morton, who died on the 29th of June, 1685, in the seventy-third year of his age, records of Standish, that "he growing very ancient became sick of the stone or Strangullion, whereof after his suffering of much dolorous pain, he fell asleep in the Lord and was honorably buried at Duxbury." This is universally admitted, that Standish was buried in Duxbury, and this is in accordance with his will which reads, "My will is that out of my whole estate my funeral charges to be taken out and my body to be buried in a decent manner, and if I die in Duxburrow, my body to be laid as near as conveniently may be to my two dear daughters, Lora Standish, my daughter, and Mary Standish, my daughter-in-law."

Tradition is at one with history in saying that Standish is buried in Duxbury.

The question is, Where is his grave in Duxbury?

Mr. Justin Winsor reflects the uncertainty of those who make superficial searches and trust too much to conject-

ure and supposition. In his History of Duxbury, Winsor says, "No stone marks the resting place of his ashes and we must seek in vain the place where reposes what was mortal of the immortal Standish. He was probably, however, buried on his farm, or perhaps in the old burying ground in that vicinity at Harden Hill."

Mr. Winsor's suppositions concerning the burial place of Standish and the early Pilgrims in Duxbury are without the least foundation. When speaking of the death of the Rev. Ralph Partridge, the first minister of Duxbury, Mr. Winsor says that he was "probably interred in the first burial place of the town which was a knoll in the south-eastern part at Harden Hill, as it is called. If any stones were ever placed here they have since been destroyed by the ravages of time or otherwise as none at the present time exist. Probably, however, none were erected, in hopes of concealing from the Indians their loss by death, and consequent weakness; or in the earliest periods the difficulty of procuring stones from England was so great that few if any could have been placed here.

"This was probably used as a place of sepulture for about sixty years and here were doubtless buried most of the founders of the town and church. Here probably rest the remains of Standish, Alden, Collier, Partridge and others, whose memory we delight to cherish but whose graves must forever remain unknown.

"We have the most positive evidence that there was a burying-ground here. Some years ago while a sloop was building in this vicinity, there were found the bones of a female and an infant buried together. About the close of the century a small sloop grounded on the marsh near by in a severe gale, and a party of workmen proceeded to get her off. While here they discovered in the bank lately washed by the sea, the appearance of a coffin, and on closer examination they perceived the nails, though all were in a very decayed

state. On the shore beneath there were found three skulls and several bones, apparently of the thigh. The teeth in one were perfect and in one there were two. On one there was some light sandy hair. The bank here was washed away some twenty feet within fifty years. Some, however, incline to the belief that this was an Indian yard, but the fact that it was near the first church and other considerations influence me to believe that it was an English burial place. There were, fifty or seventy years ago, traditional reports that there was a burying-ground a short distance to the west of the Methodist Episcopal church, and Esquire Sprague, when plowing, used always on that account to leave undisturbed this portion. Major Alden was accustomed to observe that he believed John Alden, the Pilgrim, was buried here and that this was the first burying-ground, and the one at Harden Hill cliff was an Indian one. *However, there is no positive evidence on this point either way.*

"Mr. Partridge preached in a very small building in the south-eastern part of the town near the water, and tradition now marks its site. This building probably stood for about seventy years and in it preached the first three pastors of the church."

We have quoted all this from Mr. Winsor's History of Duxbury to show how inaccurate was his information, and how many conjectures and probabilities he adopted to explain his theory that Standish was buried on Harden Hill, or on his own farm. You will remark that Mr. Winsor at times says "probably" Standish was buried on his farm or "perhaps" on Harden Hill, and again says, "probably he was buried on Harden Hill, and finally says the first church was near Harden Hill, and therefore there was a burying-ground there and an English one at that. Mr. Winsor's facts and conjectures were hastily gathered when he was a young man on his vacation in Duxbury. He had, at that time, no training in antiquarian or archaeological researches or he would have seen that in his own book he has the most convincing evidence to prove that all these conjectures are groundless as to the site of the old church and the old graveyard in Duxbury.

Harden Hill lies on the south-westerly coast of Duxbury Bay, north of the creek known as Simmons' Creek, and opposite or nearly opposite the home of Mr. Ira Chandler, who lives on the Nook road. Harden Hill is at present occupied by Mr. William Freeman (whose place is owned by Mr. Theodore Freeman), Mr. Edgar Smith, Mr. Edward Marsh, Mr. Gamaliel Wadsworth, and Mr. Calvin Smith. The very situation of this hill would show that

the early settlers never would have selected it for the site of a church or for a graveyard. It was removed from every settler in the town. There was no public road to it; in all the records of public roads there is no mention of a road to Harden Hill, nor is there the least reference to a meeting-house there. Now if the meeting-house were there, there would be a public highway to it, for the meeting-house was used for all town's meetings as well as for church purposes. There was no highway to Harden Hill; there is no reference in the deeds and records of the farms in that vicinity to a meeting-house as a boundary. The hill was altogether remote from the centre of population. The Nook people, in order to reach the meeting-house, would have to cross the marshes lying around at the back of Mr. Sylvanus Sampson's, or they would have to go around by some public way. There is no public way mentioned in any of the deeds of farms or in any of the bounds of farms recorded for those early times. Besides, the names of the settlers whose farms are recorded as lying around the first meeting-house all lived round Hall's Corner, near what is known as the old cemetery on the road between Hall's Corner and Bayley's Corner. To place a meeting-house on a hill remote from all the settlers in all parts of the town would be an absurdity too great to lay to the sense of the distinguished men who founded Duxbury and established a church here. All the settlers about the place known as Powder Point, and in all the northern part of the town around John Alden's homestead and around Mill Brook and Duck Hill, would object to putting a meeting-house in such an out-of-the-way place.

As to the supposed graveyard at Harden Hill, there are no traces of any public graveyard there. Excavations were made on the hill by several people, and there was not a trace of a graveyard, a common graveyard. According to Mr. Winsor, Harden Hill was used as a graveyard by the people of Duxbury for sixty years at least. That is, it was used as a graveyard until about 1690, A. D. Now there are public records that a large number of people died in Duxbury before that time. Besides, the Wadsworth records state that eighty-four persons had died in Duxbury up to 1688, A. D. Now it would be impossible to bury such a number of people in a graveyard on Harden Hill and at this date find no trace of such a number of graves. Again, it would be impossible for such a graveyard to be washed away by the sea and the people of the town not to know it and to take care to keep their dead from being washed into the sea. This is all the more evident when you consider that the people of Duxbury were always a sea-far-

ing people having at least the ordinary reverence for their dead. It would have been impossible for the sea to encroach year after year on their shore without their knowledge, and, having that knowledge, is it either probable or possible that the early settlers would take no steps to keep their dead from being carried into the bay?

Every week the people were at their divine service; over and over again they carried their dead there; frequently they must have visited the graves of their former friends; their town-meetings were held in the meeting-house, and all public business was transacted in it; for all these reasons and many others that will suggest themselves, the people of Duxbury would have had many and ample opportunities for observing the destruction of their graveyard by the tides, and such destruction could not have taken place without their knowledge of it. But there is no tradition of such destruction. It must be borne in mind that this destruction should have taken place between 1656, when Standish was buried, and 1665. The graveyard was in existence when Standish was buried in 1656, and the records are complete since 1665. Had the graveyard been washed away since this time, some record of it would be left in history or in tradition.

The assumption that the graveyard was washed away was forced on the defenders of the Harden Hill theory, because no trace of a graveyard is found there now, and they justly feel that the absence of an entire public graveyard must be accounted for in some way.

Mr. Bradford made extensive excavations and searches on Harden Hill for traces of a graveyard. Mr. Bradford was assisted by his brother, and after a diligent search, digging several feet deep and exploring, as sextons know how to explore for graves, they could not find one trace of a graveyard on Harden Hill.

As to the bones that were found on Harden Hill, the belief was that they were Indian bones, until Mr. Justin Winsor stated in his book that they were Caucasian bones, from the fact that this supposed graveyard "was near the first church." That it was not near the first church is absolutely certain, even according to Mr. Winsor's facts. The foundation for his supposition is gone and the supposition vanishes.

It is not necessary that we should account for the bones found on Harden Hill, for they do not in any sense correspond with what history, tradition, and Standish's own will require to prove that they were the bones of the Standish family. However, there are many ways of accounting for these bones. They may have been Indian bones. They may have been the bones

of some shipwrecked people; they may have been the bones of people who for some reason were buried on their own farm. The most likely thing of all is that they were the bones of the several people who were executed in the town during its early years.

The bones found were the skeletons of a woman and a child buried with her, "three skulls and several bones apparently of the thigh. The teeth in one were perfect, and in one there were two. On one there was some light sandy hair." The woman and the child may have been Alice Bushup (the wife of Richard Bushup who lived with Love Brewster), and her child. They were married in 1644, and she was hanged in 1648 for the murder of her child. The other skulls were probably of the other persons who at various times were put to death or were buried apart for special reasons. There are records of three or four early executions. The swamp-encircled sand-hill would have been a retired place in which to bury such people.

That these bones could not have been the remains of the Standish family is evident. Neither Lora nor Mary Standish was buried with a child. These two young women were buried near each other. The Captain was buried near them. All agree that they were buried in the graveyard attached to the church. Those who would bury the Captain at Harden Hill, or on the farm of Mrs. Thomas Chandler, claim that the first church was in one or the other place respectively. On Harden Hill no two young women were found near an old man. No two remarkable pyramidal stones were found marking the place. No tradition in the oldest families supported the notion that there ever were a graveyard and a church on Harden Hill. There never was a public road leading to Harden Hill, and the public roads all led to the meeting-house. There never was any town-land on Harden Hill. The church, and the pound, and the stocks, were always placed on the town-land and in a convenient place on the highways. The farms bounded with reference to the old church and the town-land are all located near Hall's Corner and towards Bayley's Corner around the old cemetery in that vicinity.

All the evidence in the case is opposed to the supposition that Harden Hill was the site of the first church and graveyard. Even if we granted Mr. Justin Winsor's hypothesis that the bones found on Harden Hill were Caucasian bones, this would not prove that the first church was there; and even if the first church was there, this would not prove that Standish was buried on Harden Hill, as long as the traditions of the town prove that he was buried elsewhere. We shall again refer to Mr. Winsor's great mistake in locating the meeting-house on Harden Hill, and out of

his own book we shall prove his mistake.

It might be well to say that the remnants of a coffin found on the water-front at Harden Hill would not prove that the bones were not Indian bones. There were many praying or Christian Indians in the colony, and they would have learned how to bury their dead in coffins. We might ask, too, where were the slaves, formerly owned in the town, buried?

The nature of the soil where the remnants of the coffin were found would make the wood and nails decay rapidly, so that even a coffin recently buried would soon give signs of having been buried for a great number of years.

CHAPTER II.

It would hardly be necessary to say much more about Mr. Winsor's theory that Harden Hill was the site of the first church and churchyard, and consequently the burial place of Standish, if others were not misled by Mr. Winsor's authority, and if some were not even prejudiced enough to maintain what Mr. Winsor himself does not maintain, that Mr. Winsor's authority is final on this question of the grave of Myles Standish.

Had Mr. Winsor adverted to what he has on page 183 of his "History of Duxbury," he would not have adopted the Harden Hill theory, nor would so many people have been led astray by his authority. Speaking of the parsonage given to Mr. Wiswall in 1694, Mr. Winsor says: "In 1694, we find the first mention of a parsonage when a committee was appointed to give Mr. W. a deed of the town's house, 'and the land he now lives on. At this time the town granted him half ye meadow called Rouse's meadow, yt belonged to ye ministry, to him and his heirs forever, and ye use of yt whole his lifetime.' The house above named was built by the Rev. John Holmes, on land he purchased of John Sprague, and was situated west of the road leading from the meeting house into the Nook or Capt. Standish's point, containing about five or eight acres. The house was afterward sold by Major William Bradford, who married the widow of Mr. Holmes, to the town."

From the location of this house built by Mr. Holmes, it was easy for Mr. Winsor to perceive that this house lying west of the road leading from the meeting-house into the Nook, the meeting-house could not have been on Harden Hill. To reach the Nook from a supposed meeting-house on Harden Hill you would have to go west until you met the road leading from the mill at Mill Brook to the Nook. The main road would be from the Nook to the mill, and a road running at right angles, or

nearly so, would lead from this main road to the supposed meeting-house on Harden Hill. This latter would be the meeting-house road proper, for the one from the Nook to the mill was known as the road from the Nook to the mill. As a matter of fact the meeting-house was on the western side of this main road, and so this road was also called the road from the meeting-house to the mill, and the road from the meeting-house to the Nook. It took its designation indiscriminately from the three important places on it, the Nook, the meeting-house, and the mill. A farm west of the road leading from the meeting-house to the Nook, could not be at Harden Hill, nor could it be at Mrs. Thomas Chandler's farm as we shall see. Here then Mr. Winsor had proof that his conjecture, that for seventy years the first church was on Harden Hill, was wrong.

On the same page of his History of Duxbury, 183, Mr. Winsor continues directly after the words quoted: "At the same time they gave him (Mr. Wiswall) one half of Bump's meadow, and the old pasture bounded north-east by the before mentioned house lot, N. west by Mr. Ralph Thacher's homestead; south-west by Morton's Hole marsh; and south-east by Thomas Boney's." It will be seen, then, that the homestead of Rev. John Holmes given by the town to Mr. Wiswall was the north-east boundary of this other piece of land given to Mr. Wiswall, which was bounded on the south-west by Morton's Hole marsh. By looking at the map of the town Mr. Winsor could have at once determined where Rev. Mr. Wiswall's home was, where Rev. Mr. Holmes' home was, and where the Rev. Mr. Partridge's home was. The three are mentioned in this paragraph giving the boundaries of this piece of land given to Mr. Wiswall. From the position of the marsh at Morton's Hole, and from the location of the two pieces of land given to Mr. Wiswall, one the Holmes homestead, and the reference to the road from the meeting-house into the Nook as the eastern boundary of the above homestead, we can easily show that the meeting-house was not on Harden Hill, nor could it have been on Mrs. Thomas Chandler's farm. The evidence all proves that it was at the present old cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners.

Mr. Ralph Thacher, whose name is mentioned in the last boundaries, was the grandson of Rev. Ralph Partridge, and occupied the homestead of his grandfather, which came to him through his mother, a daughter of Mr. Partridge. Here we see the homes of the first three ministers. Partridge, Holmes and Wiswall, almost beside the old cemetery, between Hall's and Bayley's Corners; Partridge's was adjoining the cemetery.

CHAPTER III.

Before proving conclusively the location of the first meeting-house and graveyard to have been at the present old cemetery north of Morton's Hole marsh, on the road between Hall's Corner and Bayley's Corner, we shall consider the theory advanced by some that the old meeting-house lay on the point of land lying west of Morton's Hole, on or near what is now the farm of Mrs. Thomas Chandler, and that Myles Standish was buried there.

In order to reach this point or tongue of land stretching into the bay west of Morton's Hole, you should have highways from the different parts of the town leading to this place. But in all the records of the town from the earliest times there is not a hint of a highway into this tongue of land. In fact it would be absurd to suppose that Standish and the founders of the town would have built their meeting-house, in such an out-of-the-way place. Standish, Brewster and those who lived in the Nook would have to come up to Hall's Corner and then pass westward in order to get around the marsh that lay all round Morton's Hole, and then pass westward of the Goodwin (now Saunders) house to the south to reach the meeting-house, and this in all kinds of weather. To imagine such a thing when the roads were bad, and when the bay came farther north than it does at present, when the whole valley lying around Morton's Hole was swamp, and marsh, and bog, and when quite a large creek flowed down through the gorge beside the first bridge on what is known as the New Road or Border Street—to imagine, I say, such a location for the meeting-house as on that tongue of land west of Morton's Hole, is to imagine that Standish, Brewster, Alden, and the other prudent men who settled the town were doing their best to make church-going as hard and as difficult as possible for themselves and for all concerned. Then all the people in the north end of the town, in fact, in all the town, (we have already spoken of the Nook), would have to trudge their weary ways over bad roads and around swamps to the most southerly point of land in the town to reach their meeting-house. Would it not be more in accordance with reason to suppose that all the inhabitants of the town would vote to place the meeting-house in a central, accessible place? Why should they select the most inaccessible places and the most inconvenient?

It has been said that the swamp or marsh around Morton's Hole did not in former times extend so far southwardly as at present; in other words, that the bay came in farther towards the north. Mr. Herbert Peterson, the present owner of the land in

this marsh, says that he distinctly remembers when the marsh's edge was nearly one hundred feet farther north than it is at present, and Mr. Peterson is a young man. This, too, is borne out by the fact that quite a large creek called Morton's Hole Creek ran into the bay at this point. The bed of the creek is still plainly visible and the waters of the bay went up the creek to quite a distance; just as at Eagle's Nest creek and Blue-fish river. That this was so is evidenced by the fact that in 1639 A. D., by order of the town a "wear" was to be set at Morton's Hole. This fact in itself proves that there was quite a creek, which was known as Morton's Hole Creek, flowing into the bay from the north, the head of which creek is still plainly traceable. Taking all these things into consideration, and the swampy, boggy nature of the land around the Hole even to this day, we know that the arable and pasture land must have been less than it is today in this vicinity. These facts will be of the greatest interest when we keep them in memory in connection with the grants of land and the boundaries of farms and highways at and near Morton's Hole.

As has been said there was not a highway leading into this tongue of land, now owned by Mrs. Thomas Chandler, from any part of the town. Had Mr. Winsor adverted to what he wrote on page 183, he could have saved a great deal of confusion, and if those who would locate the first meeting-house on Mrs. Chandler's farm would but attend to the geography of the town, and the records of highways, farms, and town's lands, they would be saved the mistake of trying to prove an impossible thing.

We have already seen that the Rev. Mr. Holmes built his house on land bought of John Sprague, and we have seen the location of that land with reference to Morton's Hole and the road leading from the meeting-house into the Nook. A road leading from Chandler's farm to the Nook could not by any possibility be the boundary for a farm lying northeast of Morton's Hole marsh.

The Chandler farm is west of Morton's Hole, and no highway ever ran to and from Chandler's place. How could a farm lying northeast of Morton's Hole be bounded on its eastern side by a supposed road running from a point west of Morton's Hole to a point of land due east of Morton's Hole? It is well to bear in mind that Mr. Holmes came to Duxbury in 1658, and bought the land from Sprague and built his home thereon.

The location of the Sprague farm will also prove that the road from the meeting-house into the Nook could not be a road running from the Chandler farm. The Sprague homestead and farm lay between

the Nook and Powder Point. In the deed which will be cited later this will be more evident. We cite the following from the "Memorial of the Sprague Family" by Richard Soule. Speaking of Francis Sprague, who was admitted a freeman in 1637, Mr. Soule says: "Nothing is known in regard to the locality of his residence, except that it was somewhere on the shore between Captain's Hill and Bluefish River. In an interesting paper by the late Alden Bradford, entitled 'Notes on Duxbury', and published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, it is stated, as a matter of record, that a pathway was early laid out from Plymouth, over Jones' River, and crossing Island Creek, wound along near the shore of the bay to accommodate Standish, Brewster, Sprague, and others in the south and east part of the town, and then led over Blue River near the head of the salt water, and passing John Alden's settlement on the north side of this river was continued over Stony brook (Mill Brook) near Philip Delano, who had just begun a farm there by Duck Hill, to Careswell, the residence of Governor Winslow.

"Standish and Brewster, it is well known, resided on the south eastern side of the peninsula, now called 'The Nook,' of which Captain's Hill forms a part. But whether Sprague, who is named with them in this extract, is to be classed with those who dwelt in the south, or with those living in the east part of the town, does not clearly appear. It is most probable, however, that as the names of Standish and Brewster must have been intended to represent the first locality, that of Sprague, was introduced as representing the last."

This Francis Sprague was the father of John Sprague who sold the land for his homestead to Rev. John Holmes. From this we can see that the Sprague land lay between the Nook and the Alden farm and the eastern shore. The Spragues never owned land on Hadden Hill, nor where the Chandler farm is, west of Morton's Hole. The road from the meeting-house to the Nook must have run through the Sprague farm, and in fact we shall see that it did. The part of the Sprague farm sold to Holmes lay to the west of this road. The location, then, of the Sprague farm is of interest in this matter.

All that has been suggested so far is borne out by a reference to the highways set forth in Duxbury by the jury of twelve impaneled in 1637 for this purpose. Winsor in his History gives a good account of these highways on page seventeen. His description is taken from the original documents. He says: "The roads through Duxbury began at the ferry at Jones river, and thence by Stephen Tracy's (the present Samuel Loring's) to

the bridge at John Roger's thence by Jonathan Brewster's cowyard, through a valley near the house of Mr. Prence, thence by Christopher Wadsworth's whose pallasadoe is to be removed, thence to Francis Sprague's and then fell into the way that leads from Morton's Hole to Ducksburrow Towne."

Continuing the description of the highways Winsor says: "From this main path (that is, the one just described) there branched off one going to the Nook to accommodate Standish and Brewster, and returning by Wm. Bassett's and Francis Sprague's, through an ancient path joined again the highway."

In these words we have again confirmation of the location of Sprague's land and therefore of the position of Wiswall's home in regard to the road leading from the meeting-house into the Nook. We may also refer to the fact that in 1638, when Prince was governor, the Plymouth County Records say: "Whereas there was a highway laid forth through Captain Standish and Mr. Brewster's ground on the Duxburrow side, which is not of use for the country, and they do therefore refuse to repair the same, the said Captain Standish and Mr. Brewster do undertake to repair said way and it to be only for their own use." This road leading into the Nook was repaired and improved in 1715, and to this we shall again refer in quoting some records concerning the location of the Nook with regard to the meeting-house.

To return to a description of the highways as set forth by the jury of twelve in 1637: "From Wadsworth's the path led through Sprague's and Bassett's orchards, thence through John Washburn's land to William Palmer's gate, thence through Peter Brown's land to the westward of Henry Howland's house, thence through a marsh to Mr. John Alden's, thence through a valley by the corner of Philip Delano's farm to Edward Bumpasse's and thence by Rowland Leyborne's house to Green's Harbor."

Here again you will be helped to locate Sprague's land, and that of other early settlers.

CHAPTER IV.

We know now the general run of the highways, and the locations of some of the farms and their situation as regards Morton's Hole.

The highways were: (1) the one from Plymouth through Kingston to Bayley's Corner, and then going through the woods towards the north-east, coming out at a point a little south of the Soldiers' monument near the Unitarian church, and bending around to the south-east by the east-

ern side of the old cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners. The present direct road between these Corners was not made for many years after the settlement of the town. The Plymouth road, as already seen, came through Christopher Wadsworth's land into Sprague's, and from this place near Morton's Hole the second road was laid out: (2) the second road ran from the north of Morton's Hole to the west of John Alden's farm of 169 acres to Mill Brook, to Duck Hill, and to the home of Winslow at Careswell; (3) the third road ran from the junction of the other two, north of Morton's Hole to the homes of Standish and Brewster. A new road was made to the Nook in 1715 and this new road ran to the east of the old one made in 1637. These were the original roads of the town, and all other roads made in the town, as well as these, are found in the Old Colony Records, or in the records of Duxbury, and in the deeds about farms and public lands. These roads met at the old cemetery. It must be borne in mind that (1) the new road to Kingston, (2) the present road to the Nook from Hall's Corner, (3d) the road from Hall's to Bayley's Corner, (4th) the road from Hall's Corner to the South Duxbury station, and (5th) the road from Hall's Corner coming to the eastern shore and along the shore to Powder Point, were not in existence for very many years after the settlement of the town; not one of these five roads was in being before the year 1700 A. D.

The road to Standish's was, as we have seen, kept private for a number of years, and this is the path partly followed by the road made in 1715, A. D., when we shall see that it was laid out as a highway through Wiswall's land up to the meeting-house.

From all this it will be evident that no highway led down to the farm of Mrs. Thomas Chandler. All the paths and roads converged to a point near the farms of Wadsworth and Sprague lying north of Morton's Hole. Mrs. Chandler's farm lies to the west of Morton's Hole, and by no possibility could you conceive of a road leading from a supposed meeting-house on that farm into the Nook and bounding Wiswall's house lot of "five or eight acres" on the east.

When to all this you add that there is not the slightest trace of a meeting-house, or of a public graveyard, or of any public roads on Mrs. Chandler's farm, the most skeptical must be satisfied that the suggestion of some as to the location of the first church and grave yard on that farm is altogether gratuitous. In this case there is no claim advanced that the sea washed away the dead, nor is there any effort made to explain the absence of all trace of some scores of graves on that piece of land.

The old way from Mrs. Chandler's to the old road between Duxbury and Plymouth was a path leading up from this southerly point of land to the main road. This was all the way to and from that point of land, and Mrs. Thomas Chandler remembers when there was no other way. Now the path leads up to the new road called Border Street. When you go down Border street and pass the house of the late Mr. LeBaron Goodwin, you come to the lane that leads down to Mrs. Chandler's. There is a small piece of land on which there are four hills lying south of Border Street. On one of these hills on the south-east of this tongue of land is the home of Mr. Ellis Peterson. Behind his house is another of these hills on the land of Mr. Goodwin (now Saunders.) On the south-west corner of the land is the home of Mrs. Thomas Chandler, and it is on a hill, the third one, while the fourth hill lies on Mrs. Chandler's farm a few rods to the north of her house. These four hills with the valleys are all the land that lies on this tongue. The marsh and swamp came up to Goodwin's house on the east and northeast of this little promontory with its four hills, and on the northwest, west, and south, the bay and the swamp came in almost to the cart road that leads to Mrs. Chandler's. The supposed meeting-house and graveyard lay to the north of Mrs. Chandler's dwelling house, or five or six rods north of her barn. The site is on the edge of the northwest hill on her farm, as it slopes to the west. This is a small piece of sloping land, and any person can at once see that it would be the height of folly for the first settlers of Duxbury to build their meeting-house and bury their dead there. There is not land enough for such a purpose. The site would be one of the most inconvenient in the town. It is simply a small piece of sandy soil with four small hills and their slopes. There would be no place for the stocks and the pound which were always near the meeting-house. The people would have to trudge through dreary swamps to reach this spot. No highways ran to it; none of the farms mentioned in the records as lying near the meeting-house were there. None of the land lying south of the meeting house could be there, for it is only a few rods to the water's edge on the south and west. What then of the farms mentioned as lying south of the meeting-house, and west of the road leading from the meeting-house into the Nook?

This place of four hills was evidently an Indian resort. Countless arrowheads, and Indian mortars for grinding corn, and heaps of clam-shells and of corn-stalks, have been ploughed up on these hills. Mrs. Chandler said the church and graveyard were on the little sand hill on Mr.

Goodwin's farm. This would be an impossibility. No graves were ever found there, no church was ever built there. After digging down to quite a depth, we found nothing but some modern brick and traces of burnt clam-shells, and some broken modern crockery. Afterwards we were told that Mrs. Chandler pointed out the wrong place, and that the supposed site of the old church and graveyard was on the western slope of the hill a few rods north of her dwelling house. Of this site we heard the full history from some of the oldest persons in town. From what has been said it will be seen that there is not a record, not a trace of a meeting-house having ever been at or near Mrs. Chandler's farm. The only evidence ever produced to prove that there was a meeting-house on this promontory of sand hills was the fact that some bones were found on the western slope of the hill north of Mrs. Chandler's house. A few bones were found. The conclusion deduced was this—here was the first graveyard, and therefore the first meeting-house, and therefore here Standish was buried. The wonder of it all is, that nobody can tell whether the bones were those of a whiteman or of an Indian. If the first burial ground were here, there should be at least about one hundred graves in the place, but there is no trace of such a thing.

Mr. Frank Ryder, who is acquainted with all the tradition about this old hill-side, says that it was a home, or private, or family, burial place. That it could not have been anything more, if even that, is too plain; and then to imagine that Captain Myles Standish would have buried his beloved children on the farm of a stranger, in a most forsaken and unseemly place, is the height of folly. This story about Mrs. Chandler's farm is the result of ignorance of the history of the town.

The search at Mrs. Thomas Chandler's was conducted by Dr. Wilfred G. Brown of Duxbury and myself.

Leaving Mrs. Chandler's we went to Mr. Frank Ryder's. Mr. Ryder lives in a house known as the Cushman house. Our reason for going to Mr. Ryder's was this: Mrs. Ziba Hunt, who lives near the almshouse, and is a very old woman, told me that her mother, Mrs. Diana Chandler, had an old lady spinning for her, who had just come from Mrs. Cushman's, and this old lady told Mrs. Diana Chandler that Mrs. Cushman had pointed out to her the grave of Myles Standish from the window of Mrs. Cushman's house.

Dr. Brown and I went to Mr. Ryder's to find out if we could see the supposed graveyard at Mrs. Thomas Chandler's from "the Cushman house." We found that it would be an absolute and physical impossibility to see the reported grave-

yard from any part of Mr. Ryder's house. You could see the roof and part of Mrs. Thomas Chandler's house, but you could not see the ground at the back of her house, nor the lower slope on the western side of the hill which was the supposed graveyard. This is true even if all the trees intervening were removed. There are a few trees in the way, but the hill on which Mr. Ryder's house sits stretches so far to the south that it is impossible, owing to this hill and to other intervening hills, to see the land at the back of Mrs. Thomas Chandler's. The evident conclusion then is, that Mrs. Cushman could not have pointed out the supposed grave to the old lady who did the spinning for herself and Mrs. Diana Chandler.

The house in which Mr. Ryder lives was partly built by Dr. John Wadsworth, who died in 1799. Since Dr. Wadsworth first built on that site, the house has been enlarged to three or four times its original size and extended several feet to the south. When built by Dr. Wadsworth, it was a small one story house.

Originally it faced the east, or east by north, while now the main part of the house faces the south. Even as the house now stands, extending much farther to the south, it would be impossible for any one to point out from it the grave or to see any of the land around Mrs. Thomas Chandler's.

CHAPTER V.

The "Ryder house" called by some the "Cushman house" was built in 1763 for Joshua Cushman, when he married Mercy Wadsworth, the daughter of Doctor John Wadsworth. This was the first house built in all that section of the town between it and the bay.

Seeing that it would be impossible for any one to point out the grave of Standish from any part of the Ryder or Cushman house, and, pursuing our investigations, we discovered several things of the greatest importance in this matter of the Cushman tradition.

First of all it was evident that the Cushman tradition, of whatever value, depended on the authority of Doctor John Wadsworth, the father of Mercy, who married Joshua Cushman in 1763. Dr. Wadsworth built a home for them. Now, Doctor Wadsworth's authority is plain. He spoke of two remarkable, triangular, pyramidal stones as marking the burial place of Standish. His daughter had her tradition from him, and thus the Cushman tradition in every form resolves itself into Dr. Wadsworth's statements.

Besides the story of the spinning woman, who was a stranger in town, we have two other forms of the Cushman

tradition. Let us examine the spinning woman's story first of all. Other traditions, doubtless derived from her story, make the same statement, that the grave of Myles Standish can be seen from the Cushman house. In testing this story we found that there were two Cushman houses and three Mrs. Cushmans. One Cushman house is the present Ryder house, and the other is the Charlemagne Cushman house, built about the year 1800 A. D., and now owned by Mrs. Captain Myrick. Mrs. Hunt, whose mother, Mrs. Diana Chandler, had heard the spinning woman's story, was unable to say which of the two Cushman houses was in question, and which of the three Mrs. Cushmans, Mrs. Joshua Cushman, or her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Ezra Cushman, or Mrs. Charlemagne Cushman. With all this doubt hanging around the exact house and the exact Mrs. Cushman, and whether one Mrs. Cushman might not have been visiting at the home of another Mrs. Cushman, or living there for the time, we could arrive at no satisfactory conclusion but this: that a Mrs. Cushman pointed out from a Cushman house the grave of Myles Standish to a spinning woman. This is the substantial evidence of the tradition.

Now, from neither Cushman house could you see the reputed graveyard at Mrs. Thomas Chandler's. From Mrs. Myrick's, however, you can see the old cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners, and almost the very grave of Standish about the centre of the graveyard.

Another form of the Cushman tradition is that Dr. John Wadsworth, when taking his occasional visitors to see the burial place of Standish always went to the south-east from his house. The conclusion would be that he went to the farm of Mrs. Thomas Chandler. This tradition is held by a very few people who can give no account of it, and who know nothing about where Doctor Wadsworth lived, nor the situation of his home with reference to either Mrs. Thomas Chandler's place, or the old cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners. This tradition is evidently the same as that of which Mr. Stephen M. Allen gives an account in his letter to the Boston Transcript of June 2, 1891. Mr. Allen says:—

"The traditional account which was published in the Transcript some fifteen or eighteen years ago, herewith transcribed, seems much more plausible than the recent claims set up. It is as follows:—

"The burial place of Standish has not yet been found. It was not until 1872 that we had any probable clew to its location. At the laying of the corner-stone of the monument to Standish there was an old lady present, Mrs. Lorian Thomas Loring, now living at Charlestown, whose family

formerly lived in Duxbury, who gave some light on that subject which may lead to the discovery of his grave. She said that her mother, Mary Cushman Thomas, who was a granddaughter of Dr. John Wadsworth, of Duxbury, who died in 1799, had many times informed her that when a girl of fifteen or sixteen she used to pass much time with her grandfather, who lived on or near the westerly shore of the head of the bay, directly west of Captain's hill and southwest of Morton's Hole, and on the west side of what is now the new road from Hall's Corner to Kingston, in a house still standing and occupied by Mr. George F. Ryder; that Dr. Wadsworth often had distinguished guests to dine with him when she was present, and that after dinner in such cases it was almost his invariable custom to invite them to visit the grave of Standish near the shore; that she had many times seen her grandfather start from the south side of the house and go in a southeasterly direction to the shore with such guests to a small hill in two parts, now owned by Thomas Chandler, and lying almost down to the water's edge. In such cases on their return she had heard them converse about the grave and she had no doubt it was there. The old lady died February 27, 1859, in Charlestown and but a year before her death, she reiterated her statement to Mrs. Loring. On examination we have found that at the time specified there was a road on the south side of Dr. Wadsworth's house which ran down toward the shore, but that it had long since been discontinued; also that upon one of the points on the rise of land, so mentioned, the first rude church of Duxbury is supposed to have been built. It is quite likely that the adjoining knoll should have been used for their first burying ground. It has been assigned as the reason for building the first church upon the shore, that it was for safety against any attack from the Indians, leaving a means of escape by boats across to Plymouth. The early records mention an examination near Morton's Hole for a church. Captain Standish, in his will said he desired to be buried beside his daughter and daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law was the wife of Lieutenant Josiah Standish, who afterward married the daughter of Samuel Allen of Bridgewater. It is to be hoped that, although there is at present no sign of graves on the spot mentioned, if there they may yet be discovered, that the remains may be placed at the base of the Standish monument.' "

It is necessary to examine the story told by Mr. Allen.

First of all he speaks of "the traditional account" as if the obscure hint of a tradition to which he refers were the sum and

substance of all reliable traditions on this matter. Then he says that it was only in 1872 that there was any probable clue to the location of the Standish grave. It was then Mr. Allen first heard what he calls a "probable clew," but if he had inquired faithfully he would have found that many of the people knew of the burying place of Standish long before 1872.

Mr. Allen quotes Mrs. Lorian Thomas Loring as authority for his version of the traditional account. Mrs. Loring was the daughter of Mary Cushman Thomas, who was born in 1768 and was the daughter of Mercy Wadsworth (the daughter of Dr. John) who in 1763 married Joshua Cushman. The important points in Mrs. Loring's account are, that Dr. Wadsworth in going with his guests to the Standish burial place went to the southeast from his house and that his house is the one now occupied by George Frank Ryder. Mr. Allen in telling the public where George Frank Ryder's house is says it is "on or near the westerly shore of the head of the bay, directly west of Captain's Hill and southwest of Morton's Hole, and on the west side of what is now the new road from Hall corner to Kingston." This story is entirely inaccurate. Mr. Ryder's house lies north of the bay; it is far more north than west of Captain's Hill; it is almost due north of Morton's Hole, instead of being south-west as Mr. Allen's account says; and it is due north to the new road from Hall's Corner to Kingston.

Again, so far from Mr. Ryder's house having been the home of Dr. Wadsworth, the doctor built that house for his daughter in 1763; he lived on the Fernando Wadsworth homestead west of Bayley's Corner. George Frank Ryder, who lives in the old Cushman house, to which Mr. Allen refers, says that Dr. Wadsworth (the great-great grandfather of Mrs. Ryder) lived on the Fernando Wadsworth homestead. Justin Winsor in his history of Duxbury, on page 12, writes: "On one of the roads leading from the inland towns, was situated the house of Dr. John Wadsworth, who was noted as rather an eccentric individual, and concerning whom some anecdotes of an amusing nature are still current. By his door frequently passed the adventuresome sons of farmers of the interior, eager to ship themselves on board some of the comparatively many fishing vessels, which were then often leaving Duxbury at the proper season. At one time a party of these going by, asked the doctor the distance to the village, and other questions concerning the prospects before them, who met them with the reply: 'Ah, you are going there, are you? That place is Sodom. I tell you it is going to be sunk, it is! Well, now, do you want me to make you a rhyme? Well, then

The Swampliceers avoid all fears,
A fishing they will go,
If they scape h—, it will be well,
But that they willn't I know.

And with this most solemn warning he dismissed them."

From this it will be seen that as Dr. Wadsworth lived on one of the roads leading from the inland towns he could not have lived in the Ryder house. No public highway ever ran by the Ryder house, and the Ryder house is not even now on a highway, nor is it situated on the way from the inland towns to the shore. Those who know best say that Dr. Wadsworth lived beyond Bayley's Corner, on the Fernando Wadsworth place.

Dr. Wadsworth was born in 1706 and died in 1799. The only ways open to him to reach the old cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners, were either to go to the northeast and turning to the east by the old road before mentioned, (which was a little south of the Soldiers' monument) bend round to the southeast and so come to the old cemetery; or he could go to the southeast from his house by a path that led to the home of his daughter Mercy, Mrs. Joshua Cushman, and turning towards the east bend a little towards the northeast to the old cemetery. This latter was the shorter route on foot, and the more picturesque, lying within view of the bay, and Dr. Wadsworth would be traveling almost all the time through land belonging to himself or his family. In this way he would have gone in a southeasterly direction from his own house. But Mr. Allen says that the doctor went in a southeasterly direction from Mr. Ryder's house to the Chandler place. Now this is an absolute impossibility. The home of Mrs. Thomas Chandler lies in a southwesterly direction from the Ryder home, and the roadway or rather path of which Mr. Allen says he found traces ran in a southwesterly direction. This is the path which Mrs. Thomas Chandler says was for the convenience of private persons not of the public.

In Mrs. Lorian Thomas Loring's account we see that she does not say that her mother ever said that she went with Dr. Wadsworth and his guests to the burial place of Standish. Mrs. Loring's mother, Mrs. Cushman Thomas (daughter of Mercy Wadsworth) left Duxbury when a young woman, and, from the account we receive from her, it is plain that she did not live in the same house with her grandfather, Dr. John Wadsworth. She lived in her father's house, the Joshua Cushman house, where George Frank Ryder now lives. The whole story is so full of inaccuracies about places, dates, and directions, that its value amounts simply to this, that Dr. John Wadsworth was in the habit of taking his guests to see the burial place of

CHAPTER VI.

Myles Standish, and that this burial place was in the southeastern part of Duxbury, near the bay and within easy walking distance of Dr. Wadsworth's home. Also we see that this burial place was beside the church. Hereafter we shall see that Dr. Wadsworth spoke of the two remarkable triangular pyramids of stone that marked the burial place. It is not necessary to dwell at greater length on this version of the Cushman tradition, except to say that its whole value depends on the authority of Dr. Wadsworth, and his more explicit testimony we shall see later.

We must not omit to refer to Mr. Allen's last argument to uphold the groundless theory he advocates. He says: "It has been assigned as the reason for building the first church upon the shore, that it was for safety against any attack from the Indians, leaving a means of escape by boats across to Plamouth." This is, perhaps, the strongest argument for this theory. According to this the Indians were to attack the town when the people, men, women, and children, were at the little meeting-house, or the people were all to rush there when attacked, all the boats were to be there, and the waters of Kingston Bay and of Plymouth Bay were to remain in the bays all the time!

A third version of the Cushman tradition is that Myles Standish was buried a few rods to the southeast of Mr. Ryder's house, on the farm now owned by Mr. Ryder. This shows that the belief of later generations of Cushmans in the Thomas Chandler farm theory was not very strong. Mr. Ryder points out the spot on his farm, which one of Mrs. Ryder's ancestors believed to be burial place of Standish, and which Mr. Cushman did not allow to be ploughed for a number of years. It is not necessary to say that the Mr. Cushman, who held this absurd theory, had no grounds for holding it. The Ryder farm and all the land south to the shore, including Mrs. Myrick's, Ellis Peterson's, Mrs. Thomas Chandler's, George Torrey's, Henry Barstow's, Fernando Wadsworth's, etc., etc., all belonged to the farm of Christopher Wadsworth almost from the time he came to Duxbury with the first settlers. He bought Job Cole's land and John Starr's and other land, which, with the grants to himself, made an immense farm. There never was any town-land on any part of this farm, whether at Mrs. Thomas Chandler's place or elsewhere. The Captain would not be buried on another man's farm, nor would he bury his children there. Christopher Wadsworth was alive in 1677.

It is certain that in 1630, if not before that time, some of the chief pilgrims had come to Duxbury. In the winter time they returned to Plymouth. The following document throws light on the point:

"Ano 1632) The names of those which
Aprill 2 } promise to remove their fam-
[ilies] to live in the towne in the winter
time, that they m[ay] the better repair to
the worship of God.

John Alden,
Capt. Standish,
Jonathan Brewster,
Thomas Prence."

The removal to Plymouth in the winter was not required a year or two later. "In the year 1632, a number of the brethren inhabiting on the other side of the bay, at a place since called Duxborough, growing weary of attending the worship of God from such distance asked and were granted a dismission." All agree that about this time the people of Duxbury were released from the obligation of attending service in Plymouth. There was not a settled pastor in Duxbury until Rev. Ralph Partridge came in 1637. The first church was built in Duxbury between 1632 and 1638.

This first meeting-house, Mr. Winsor says, stood for about seventy years, and in it ministered the first three pastors. But Mr. Winsor is not certain of its location, nor is he absolutely certain when the second was built. All agree there was but one church before the one built in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Tradition and history are at one in saying, that the church built at the old cemetery in the beginning of the eighteenth century was the second church built in the town.

From continual references to the meeting-house it will be seen that there was a meeting-house in the town as early as 1638 A. D.

In the year 1638 it was recorded that A. Sampson was presented to the court "for striking and abusing John Washburn, the younger, in the meeting house on the Lord's day."

In 1641 there were eight churches in Plymouth colony and the Duxbury church was one of these.

In 1651 Nathaniel Bassett and Jo. Prior were fined twenty shillings each for disturbing the church.

In 1652 George Russell was fined for not attending church in "the liberties" of Duxbury.

In 1666 Edward Land, John Cooper, and John Simmons were fined ten shillings each for "prophane and abusive carriages, each toward the other on Lord's day at the meeting-house."

In 1669 "it was enacted that any person or persons that shall be found smoking of tobacco on the Lord's day, going to or coming from the meetings within two miles of the meeting-house, shall pay twelve pence for every such default for the colony's use."

In 1672 the meeting-house is mentioned in the bounds of Rev. Mr. Holmes' land.

In 1684 on the 10th September Joseph Prior, Junr, was paid one shilling for mending the pulpit door.

In 1686 Rhodolphus Thacher was paid ten shillings for sweeping the meeting-house.

In 1690 Deacon Wadsworth received ten shillings for sweeping the meeting-house.

In 1692 Mr. Wadsworth received ten shillings for sweeping the meeting-house.

In 1692 Mr. Southworth's bill was balanced for repairing Mr. Wiswall's house and for glassing the meeting-house.

In 1693 Mr. Wadsworth was paid fifteen shillings for sweeping the meeting-house.

In 1698 on the 23d May, the selectmen were ordered to have the gutters of the meeting-house repaired.

In 1706 on Thursday, the 21st February the town gave liberty to Benjamin Prior to remove the fence between the meeting-house and his own house, up to the road.

In 1705-6, the 20th March, the town-meeting was adjourned to the 3d April following to consider some way to raise funds for repairing and enlarging their meeting-house.

In 1706 on the 3d of April it was resolved to build a new meeting-house.

All these evidences, and others might be added, prove that there was a meeting-house in the town from 1638 at least. Finally it became so out of repair and so unable to accommodate the people that they decided to consider how to repair and enlarge it, and finally sold it and built a new one.

From what has been said it is clear that the meeting-house was north of Morton's Hole. The direction of the highways and the location of the farms already mentioned place the meeting-house in that place. Now it makes no difference whether you assert there was only one, or whether there were two, or three, or more churches built before 1706-7. The deeds of farms and the records of the roads locate the meeting-house, whether it was the first, or second, or third, or any other number, north of Morton's Hole. Around it were the farms and homes of the ministers from the beginning as we shall now see.

And first of all as to Mr. Partridge.

Mr. Partridge's land was granted to him

around Morton's Hole. He was minister of the town, and it was right and natural that his land should be near the meeting-house, and this was so. In the Plymouth Colony records in the book of deeds, we find the following entry:

"We whose names are hereunder written, by order of Mr. Thomas Prince and Mr. William Collier assistant, have measured and layed out ten acres of arable land lying on the head of Morton's Hole, viz., one acre in breadth and ten acres in length lying in a square, the south side butting upon the garden plot of Edward Hall, the west side running into Christopher Wadsworth's lot, the east side upon the highway and the north side upon the common ground, which we allotted and have layed out for Mr. Ralph Partridge, the 30th of December, 1637.

Jonathan Brewster,
Stephen Tracey,
Christopher Wadsworth."

From this we know that Mr. Partridge's land was east of Christopher Wadsworth's, west of the road from the Nook to the Mill, and south of the common lands. The records of the town tell us that the common lands lay where the old burying ground is, between Hall's and Bayley's Corners. We know, too, that Mr. Partridge built his home there, for in the boundaries of the land given to Rev. Mr. Wiswall, of which we spoke in the second chapter, there is mention of Ralph Thacher's homestead as the north-western boundary of the land bounded on the north-east by the house lot of Rev. John Holmes, and on the south-west by Morton's Hole marsh. This Ralph Thacher was the grandson of Rev. Ralph Partridge. Mr. Thacher, having inherited his grand-father's property in Duxbury, lived here for some time, but was afterward ordained minister in charge of a parish elsewhere. Mr. Partridge's homestead, then, was near the church and the churchyard at the head of Morton's Hole.

Mr. Partridge bought several pieces of land around this plot of ten acres assigned to him by the town. In the Old Colony Records, Deeds, Volume 1, page 216, there is a record of land that Partridge bought of Job Cole in 1651. This land lay against Morton's Hole. Again on page 96 it is stated that he bought land of Christopher Wadsworth in 1643; this land lay north of Job Cole's land. Again on page 54 we are told that in 1639 he bought twenty acres of land of William Latham.

In the records of June 29, 1637, we are told that William Bassett and Francis Sprague both sold land to Ralph Partridge. The book of deeds says the above two parcels of land are bounded "to the land of the said Francis Sprague to the south;

to the land of the said Wm. Bassett to the east; to the houselot of Mr. William Leverich now layed forth for him to the north; toward the land of Christopher Wadsworth to the west." On Sept. 7, 1637, a deed says that Partridge obtained the above mentioned Leverich plot.

These parcels of land we see were also near Hall's Corner, being a part of Sprague's and Bassett's land at that place. They lay quite near Morton's Hole. At Mr. Partridge's death he was owner of at least 150 acres.

It is well to observe that the land given to Mr. Partridge by the town, and the land he bought of Sprague and Bassett, were bounded by Christopher Wadsworth's land on the west.

The land of Job Cole having been referred to, it may be said that Job Cole lived beside Morton's Hole. We have seen that Partridge bought some land from him. Mr. Cole, having removed to Eastham, sold to Christopher Wadsworth on August 13, 1651, "a house and land lying against a place called Morton's Hole," the meadow and fencing, etc.

The land of Edward Hall mentioned as the southern boundary of the ten acres assigned to Partridge, was sold to William Wetherell on January 24, 1638. Wetherell paid Hall twenty pounds for his house and garden of two acres "lying between Ralph Partridge and Nicholas Robbins."

From all these deeds and farm boundaries we can locate with considerable accuracy the relative position of the farms of Wadsworth, Sprague, Bassett, Robbins, Partridge, Hall, and the others mentioned in these deeds. We can locate Partridge's home better than any of the others.

We have already seen where the Rev. John Holmes had his home, which was the house afterwards given by the town to Mr. Wiswall in 1694. There is a record that the town spent £21 repairing this house in 1693. This house was situated, as we have seen, N. E. of Morton's Hole marsh, but west of the road leading from the meeting-house into the Nook.

CHAPTER VII.

We shall now quote a record for June 24, 1672, on page 224 of the small vellum-bound book of Duxbury records, which reads: "Whereas Mr. Constant Southworth, Phillip Dillano, Lawrence and Will Pabodie were appointed by the town to bound out more lands, we the above named have bonuded out to Mr. John Holmes ten acres of land bounded on the south by land of Joseph Prior and on the east end by the path that goes from the meeting-house to the mill and two marked trees, on the north side one white oak tree

which stands about sixteen rods from the path and a pine tree 6 [rods] in the woods." The words before the last three are, I think, contractions for "six rods." The points to be observed in this record are; (1) that the meeting-house was in 1672 on a road passing to the mill; (2) that this road ran north and south, or else it could not have been the eastern boundary of the land given to Holmes. From this we easily conclude that the road referred to here is the road spoken of in 1637 as running from "Morton's Hole to Ducksburrow Towne." We know that the mill stood on Stony or Mill Brook, and that the road running north and south in 1672 to the mill from the meeting-house was the old road of 1637. Then the location of Joseph Prior's farm at this place determines absolutely the location of Mr. Holmes' grant. Mr. Holmes died in 1675, three years after this reference to the meeting-house, and he was buried in the old graveyard at the meeting-house.

Already we have seen that Mr. Wiswall lived near Morton's Hole. From all these facts concerning the first three ministers, we know that they all lived near Morton's Hole, near the old cemetery, and naturally we would expect that they were near the meeting-house. All the facts prove this to have been so. We know that Wiswall was buried in the old cemetery, his tombstone being still well preserved. Holmes was buried in the old cemetery, Justin Winsor says. He says the same of Standish, Alden, and Partridge. Mr. Winsor being evidently wrong in his location of the first church, would without doubt, grant that Standish, Alden, Partridge, Holmes, and all the other important men of the town, who were buried here, were buried in the cemetery, wherever it was. He and all of us agree it was near the first church. From his own book we can prove that the first church was not at Harden Hill nor, on Mrs. Thomas Chandler's farm, but north of Morton's Hole. Therefore, Partridge was buried there.

Mather in his *Magnalia* tells us that Partridge died in Duxbury, and we learn the same from all sources.

When searching in the old graveyard, I found a most remarkable grave. It was flagged or paved with large stones on top, and these stones were at least eight or nine inches under the surface of the graveyard when I found them. The roots of a cherry tree growing at some distance had netted themselves around the stones. These roots were quite large. All the signs show that the grave is very old, and that it is that of one of the most important of the first men in the town. It may be the grave of Elder Brewster or of the Rev. Mr. Partridge. The grave is

unique in the town, and, I believe, in the Colony. The suppositions brought to prove that Brewster was buried in Plymouth are very far from being conclusive. The supposed proofs alleged in favor of Plymouth, as his resting place, are stronger when applied to Duxbury.

We shall quote from the record of a grant of land, which is recorded in the handwriting of Alexander Standish the 17th day of February 1699-700, and in which the meeting-house is mentioned. "Whereas formerly a tract of land was granted by the town of Duxburrow to Joseph Chandler, lying between the meeting-house road and Plymouth road, and was laid out to him but now no record to be found of it, we ensigne John Trasie, Thomas Delano and Abraham Sampson, being desired by Joseph Chandler, have layed out unto him twenty acres of land more or less bounded on the east by the meeting-house path to a red oak tree marked on four sides, and from said tree by a west southwest line to a pine tree which is the corner mark of the town's land and from the pine tree by the same line a range of trees marked until we come to a cart road where we marked a red oak sappling and then bounded by said path unto Plymouth road and by said road to the land of said Joseph Chandler and so by Joseph Chandler's line to the meeting-house path, this 17th day of February, 1699-700.

ALEXANDER STANDISH, Town Clerk.

John Trasie,
Thomas Delano,
Abraham Sampson.

The value of this record is to prove the location of the meeting-house on a road running north and south, and that this road was the eastern boundary for the land given to Joseph Chandler. This record, taken in connection with the location of Joseph Chandler's lotted land and the Plymouth road, will give us an idea of the situation of the land lying between "the meeting-house road and the Plymouth road." It is very plain then that the meeting-house path here mentioned could not have been one going to Harden Hill, nor one leading to the farm of Mrs. Thomas Chandler. This deed refers to a time before the second church or meeting-house was built.

CHAPTER VIII.

From all these different facts we could conclusively prove that the first meeting-house was, in fact all meeting-houses, if you suppose two or more to have been in existence before 1706-7, were, located at the old cemetery. But we have still stronger and greater evidence.

On Thursday, the 7th of May, 1891, I was examining old landmarks about the old cemetery in connection with the grave of Standish. I saw evident signs of two church sites on the ground. Following up this clue, and determined to prove whether I was right or wrong, I resolved to search all the old records of the town I could lay my hands on, and I followed this plan. I made up my mind that the settlers of the town would have built their meeting-house in a convenient place, as it served for all public purposes, and as the public pound and the stocks were usually near it. I concluded that the public highways would lead by it, and that in the boundaries of farms lying near the meeting-house the meeting-house grounds would be mentioned as a boundary line. From the foregoing results you can see how successful I was in proving what I suspected, that from the beginning the meeting-house was at the old cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners.

I was not then so much surprised as pleased when I found the following entries in the old town records:—

"At a town's meeting in Duxborough March, ye 20th 170 5-6 ye said meeting was adjourned to the third day of April next to consider of some way of raising of money to defray charges of repairing and enlarging their meeting-house either by selling some part of their common lands or by rate and also any other business that concerns said town."

"April ye 3d anno 1706 at a town meeting in Duxborough, ye said town chose Mr. Seabury town treasurer, ye selectmen also appointed Mr. Seabury a viewer and gager of casks.

At this town's meeting ye said town agreed and voted to build a new meeting-house forty foot long and thirty-three foot wide and seventeen foot high in ye walls and that the said meeting-house shall be set up *within three or four rods of the old meeting-house now in being* ye said town also ordered that some part of their comon lands should be sold to raise money to defray charges about building ye said meeting-house. These persons whose names are subscribed did protest against ye aforesaid order of selling ye town's comon land for defraying ye charges about building ye said meeting-house.

Lieut. Francis Barker,
Robert Barker,
Josiah Barker,
Samuel Barker,
Jabesh Barker,
John Russel,
Francis Barker, Junr."

The meeting was adjourned from the 3rd April 1706 to the next Wednesday at 12 of the clock. This is the record of that meeting:

"April 10, 1706 at a town's meeting in Duxborough the said town voted to chuse two agents and chose Cpt. Arnold and Mr. John Partridge to act for them ye said town on their account and at their charge in building their new meeting-house already voted to be built, that is to say to agree and bargain with a workman or workmen to build the said meeting-house and also to provide whatsoever is necessary for the said building.

The town also voted that the comon lands lying on the southeasterly side of the old Bay Rhoad yt goes from the North river to Mile Brook that runs into black-water and so down to ye heads of the lots and also the town lands on the easterly side of ye said Bay Road lying between Mile brook running into Pudding brook and Phillips brook should be sold to defray the charges of building the new meeting-house that is to say so much of ye said comon lands as is needful. Ye said town also voted to chuse three agents to act for them in selling the said comon lands and chose Cpt. Arnold, John Partridge and Thomas Loring."

"At a town's meeting in Duxborough Feb. 25, anno 1706-7 Ye said town gave liberty to Benjamin Prior to remove his fence between ye meeting-house and his own house up to ye road and so for a time use that part of ye town comons provided that he keeps up ye bounds where his former fence stood, ye said town also chose Capt. Arnold and John Partridge their agents to sell ye old meeting-house but not to deliver it before ye new meeting-house is finished and excepting men's particular rights therein."

"At a town's meeting in Duxborough upon the 16th of February anno dom. 1707-8 at this town meeting ye said town voted to give Mrs. Wiswall the ten pounds in money due to ye said town from Benjamin Prior in part for the old meeting-house in payment for part of a years salary due to Mr. Wiswall deceased which was never rated for."

That the land was sold for the purpose of meeting the expenses of building the new meeting-house is evident from the list of sales and of money received by the agents appointed by the town for this purpose. It is not necessary to quote all these records, but we might mention the following as purchasers of land sold to pay for the meeting-house, viz: Jo. Chandler, Abraham Booth, Benjamin Kein, Josiah Kein, John Bishop, Samuel Bradford, Thomas Loring, Elisha Wadsworth, Jonathan Brewster, Mathew Kein, Josiah Soule, Jonathan Peterson, George Williamson, James Boney, Isaac Pierce, and Eaton Soule.

From the records quoted for February, March, and April 1706, we gather the fol-

lowing: (1) That there was a church, an old church, one needing repairs and enlargement, standing next to Benjamin Prior's land; (2) That a new church was built within three or four rods of the old one; (3) That both churches were on the ground at the same time as the old one was not to be delivered until the new one was ready for occupation; (4) That the records speak of the church sold to Benjamin Prior, as for sale in February 1706-7, and of its sale in February, 1707-8. The new meeting-house must have been built at this time and the following record proves this: "Reckoned with ye town agents Feb'y ye 25th anno 1707. Then received of said agents the sum of one hundred and eighty pounds in full for building ye meeting-house in Duxbury. I say received by me, Samuel Sprague." This building stood until June 7, 1785.

These records prove how correct was my conclusion, that two churches were located at the old cemetery on different sites at some past time, and we see that there were two such churches within three or four rods of each other. So much being proved disposes at once and forever of all suppositions of the first church or any church before 1706, having stood elsewhere than at the cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners.

Following out the boundaries of farms and the directions of the highways enabled us to locate the old church beyond all dispute at the old cemetery. The full proofs brought to light in the records remove all doubt if any could have remained. Here then from 1638 the meeting-house stood, and it is not necessary to go into any hypothesis about churchyards following churches, or churches following churchyards, in order to locate our old burial ground. Both were together as had always been the case.

It will be borne in mind that when Plymouth and Duxbury, through the committees appointed from both towns, tried to agree on some site between both for the building of a church and town for greater strength and protection by the union of all, seven members of the joint committees voted to locate the church and town at Jones' river and two voted for Morton's Hole.

These committees were appointed by the Old Colony court on the 2nd of March, 1635-36, and on the 21st of March, 1635-36, the committees met and voted as above. Morton's Hole was so called from a large hole in the flats to the west of Captain's Hill, almost behind Mr. Ira Chandler's house. The vicinity around this was the site intended for the new town.

Morton's Hole Creek was there to supply them with water. Captain's Hill was there as a stronghold; and the people of

Duxbury undoubtedly built their church there, perhaps having in view the possibility of a later union with Plymouth at this very place.

The nature of the lands about Harden Hill and Mrs. Thomas Chandler's farm, the direction of the highways, the boundaries of the farms, the residences of the ministers, the conveniences of the worshippers and of the voters, the traditions of the town, all tell plainly and forcibly that there never was a church at Harden Hill or at Mrs. Thomas Chandler's. Both these theories were based on false assumptions of facts, which facts, even if conceded as such, could not lead to the conclusion that Standish was buried in either place in the face of the overwhelming testimony against such a conclusion. The upholders of the Chandler farm theory have had neither fact nor authority to sustain them. The upholders of the Harden Hill theory had not any facts, but they had the authority of Mr. Justin Winsor. Mr. Winsor's authority has been shaken, and his theory about Harden Hill falls to the ground.

CHAPTER IX.

We know now where the first meeting-house was, and where the old cemetery was located.

We know that Standish died between the 7th March, 1655, the date of his will, and the 4th May, 1657, when his will was exhibited in the court at Plymouth and recorded. Captain James Cudworth was the witness to the will. We are told that Standish died on the 3d October, 1656. He could not have died before 1656, for he was appointed one of the assistants to the governor that year.

At his death in 1656 Standish was the chief military officer. He was "a man full of years and honored by his generation."

Nathaniel Morton, the secretary of the Colony from 1645 to 1685, tells us of Standish: "He growing very ancient became sick of the stone or strangullion, whereof after his suffering of much dolorous pain, he fell asleep in the Lord and was honorably buried at Duxbury."

Nathaniel Morton was the son of George Morton who came in the Ann in 1623; George had married the sister of Governor Bradford. Nathaniel was born in 1612 and died in 1685. He was secretary of the Colony for forty years. He was also secretary of the united colonies, the compiler of valuable church records now in existence from the origin of the Leyden church, and author of the New England Memorial. In a copy of the Memorial in the library of the Massachusetts Historical society and which belonged to Prince,

Mr. Prince wrote in the margin the following note, from which we determine the day of Standish's death, which is not recorded elsewhere. The portions in brackets are gone and are supplied from conjecture. 'In ye list at ye e[nd] of Gour. Bradford's MSS Folio tis writ yt Capt. Standish died Oct. 3, 1655. But his son Wm's Table Book says Oct. 3, 1656 and Capt. Standish being chosen assist[ant] in 1656 shoves that his death must [have occurred in this last year.]'

In the Old Colony Records for October, 1656, Standish is cited as prosecutor for a case to be called on the 5th October.

From this evidence, and from Standish's will, and Governor Prince's copy of the Memorial, we see that Standish died in 1656, and from Morton's evidence we see that he was honorably buried in Duxbury. That he was buried in Duxbury there can be no doubt, and there never has been any doubt. In his will he speaks of his burial place: "My will is that out of my whole estate my funeral charges to be taken out, and my body to be buried in a decent manner, and if I die in Duxburrow, my body to be laid as near as conveniently may be to my two dear daughters, Lora Standish, my daughter, and Mary Standish, my daughter-in-law." History, written and traditional, records that Standish was buried in Duxbury.

That he was buried honorably is testified by the words of Nathaniel Morton, and by the position the Captain occupied at his death as the chief military officer of the colony. His life of devoted service to the interests of the colony and of the town in which he lived, would guarantee that he would be honorably buried. There was no secrecy about the funeral. If he were, as Morton says, honorably buried, he must have been buried with due public pomp and ceremony and with manifestations of public sorrow. The notion that he was buried secretly on account of the Indians is the suggestion of those who believed that his grave could not be discovered. There was no necessity for concealing his death from the Indians. When Standish died the Indians were on friendly terms with the colonists. From 1637 to 1675 there was peace between the Indians and the settlers. At Standish's death there was peace. The Indians must have known of his death. Many Indians resided in the town and we know that in 1656 there were many "praying" Indians, that is believers in Christianity. Before Standish's death many of the settlers had died, and this must have been known to the Indians. At Standish's death the colony was quite strong and confident of being able to protect itself. Several hundred immigrants had come since the first landing

at Plymouth, and it was not so necessary to conceal the few deaths that might take place from time to time, as it was to conceal the deaths of almost half the settlers during the first year or so, especially when the small number of the passengers in the Mayflower is borne in mind. Several towns were settled, and each town had its company of citizen soldiers ready to defend the colony.

People so superstitious as the Indians would hardly be inclined to believe that Standish was dead, even if they heard the report. Their strange beliefs concerning the dead, and their supposed fear of the Captain, would have inclined them to believe that the invincible Captain was even in death fighting against them. Above all it is absolutely certain that the Indians, if they knew that Standish was dead, and knew where his grave was, would not dare to interfere with his remains. Their strange superstitious fears of the Captain in death would have protected his body from being disturbed by them.

But even granting that Standish was buried secretly on account of the Indians how will this prove that the settlers themselves, his brothers in arms, his friends, his neighbors, his children, did not know of his death and his last resting place? The conclusion drawn by some, that Standish was secretly buried on account of the Indians, and therefore the colonists themselves knew nothing of his burial place is without any foundation.

Standish speaks in his will of the burial place of his children as a well known place. He asks to be buried with them. Without doubt he was buried with them, and he was buried with due pomp. His old soldiers must have come to his funeral. The old mothers of the colony must have spoken of his death. They could not forget the brave man who so often risked his own life for theirs and their children's.

Does anyone think that Morton would have said that Standish was honorably buried, if Morton knew that he had been secretly buried? Would Morton not have mentioned that he was secretly buried when writing of the funeral?

What would be the use of trying to keep the Captain's death a secret, seeing that his will was publicly exhibited in court in 1657?

Another reason given by some to account for the impossibility of locating the Captain's grave is, that he was a Roman Catholic, and that he refused to be buried in the town's graveyard with the Pilgrims who were Protestants. This is a very absurd explanation to afford for private inability to successfully locate Standish's grave.

Standish had too frequently faced death

with his fellow soldiers in the wars of Europe and New England, to be scrupulous about being buried with those who were not Roman Catholics. Were he a Roman Catholic in the sense of that term he would never have come to New England with the Pilgrims, never have been chosen their captain, their special friend, and representative; he would never have sworn fidelity to the constitution of the new colony, which constitution was and is essentially opposed to Roman Catholicism. Standish was a regular attendant at the services of the church of the Pilgrims. We have already quoted the document he signed, promising to return to Plymouth in the winter time that he might "the better repair to the worship of God." The document reads,

"Ano 1632) The names of those which
Aprill 2 { promise to remove their
fam[ilies] to live in the town in the winter
time, that they m[ay] the better repair to
the worship of God.

John Alden,
Capt. Standish,
Jonathan Brewster,
Thomas Prence."

Besides we know that he brought his family up in the town church and that his eldest surviving son, Alexander, was for many years a deacon in the church of Duxbury.

The Pilgrims came here to enjoy liberty of conscience. It is hardly likely that there were any Roman Catholics among them. The whole genius of the Pilgrim movement was not only distinct from, but opposed to, the spirit of the Roman church. How the Pilgrim governor ordered the place called "Hue's Cross" to be known as "Hue's Folly"! Not much toleration for things Roman Catholic in that. Even if he were a Roman Catholic, how would that prove that the people who "honorably buried" him did not know where they buried him? How would it prove that his children and his neighbors did not know where he was buried? His will was that he should be buried in a well-known place near his daughter and his daughter-in-law. There could not have been any secrecy about his funeral.

In 1643 in the towns of Plymouth, Duxbury, and Marshfield, a company, or military discipline, with Standish as captain was formed. The fourteenth article of the constitution of this company was: "That no one be admitted except he takes the oath of fidelity—" this was fidelity to the Colony. The thirteenth article reads, that upon the death of any member "the company upon warning shall come together with their arms and inter his corpse as a soldier and according to his place and qualitytc." We may be sure that the

soldiers of the Colony carried out this article at the funeral of their captain. It must not be forgotten that Standish was the military leader of the Colony during his life.

Justin Winsor tells us that church membership was a "necessary qualification" for a freeman of Duxbury until about 1664 (eight years after Standish's death), when the people became more tolerant of men who were not church members. This qualification was removed only in 1686.

Why should Standish refuse to be buried with the Protestants, even if he was a Roman Catholic? There was no Roman Catholic burial place for him. Did we grant that he was a Roman Catholic, this would rather be an argument that he would wish to be buried with baptised men and women, his friends, rather than alone like an animal on the edge of a swamp, or on a corner of his farm. Standish was a man of too large instincts for such a narrow mindedness.

He was buried publicly, with his children, and the men who buried him and his surviving relatives would know where he was buried.

One last objection remains, that the grave of Standish was leveled that the Indians might not know of his death, or of his resting place, and therefore we can not tell where his grave is. The men who buried him would know where he was buried, and his grave could not be leveled unless those who supposedly leveled it knew where it was. These suppositions are all without foundation and devoid of weight.

CHAPTER X.

There has always been a tradition in the town that the Standish burial place was marked by two peculiar stones lying due east and west about six feet apart. Mr. Justin Winsor in his *History of Duxbury*, speaks of this tradition. He says: "There are, a short distance easterly from the site, (to what site Mr. Winsor refers it is not easy to see; perhaps the site of the Captain's home) two stones of considerable size, which are about six feet apart, and were thought to mark, perchance, the grave of some one of the family. A few years ago investigations were made, but without affording any foundation for the supposition." In a foot-note Mr. Winsor says: "Their peculiar shape (that is the peculiar shape of the two stones), though evidently in their rough state, and the fact that their position to each other was exactly east and west, induced some persons to dig between them in hopes of making a discovery. Excavations were accordingly made to the depth of eight feet, without, however, any suc-

cess. In a biographical sketch of the author, appended to Capt. Samuel Delano's *Voyages*, and written in 1817, it is stated in speaking of Capt. Standish, 'Here he died; and some aged people in the close of the last century pointed out the spot where he was buried.' Mr. Winsor then tells of an antiquarian friend who commenced his researches in Duxbury about 1827, and who was unable to verify oral tradition, nor could he find any trace of such a tradition among the octogenarians of that time.

From these facts we gather that a few years before 1849 (when Mr. Winsor published his history) a search was made in a spot pointed out by two stones under the impression that Standish, or some of his family, might have been buried there. Earlier than that, in 1817, the author of Captain Delano's *Voyages* mentions the tradition about Captain Standish and says that some aged people in the close of the last century pointed out where Standish was buried. These traditions when properly weighed and examined are of the greatest historic worth. Mr. Winsor's antiquarian friend, the Rev. Mr. Kent, who began his researches in 1827, or thereabouts, must have been misinformed, or else he did not come in contact with the right people. That the tradition has always been in the town is too evident.

The facts cited by Mr. Winsor attest the existence of the tradition. That his friend was unable to meet anyone to tell him of the tradition, is of no consequence in the face of the contrary facts, and the value of this friend's negative testimony would depend largely on the manner in which he investigated. From the evidence produced, from the records about the old meeting-house, it is clear that antiquarians in Duxbury have been very superficial in their searches and very easily satisfied with proofs. They seem to have been more successful in creating confusion and in spreading imaginary theories than in bringing to light any fact concerning the grave of Standish.

CHAPTER XI.

Mrs. Ruth Standish Hall, a descendant in the fifth generation from Standish, died in 1873 at the advanced age of 94 years. Mrs. Hall lived at Hall's Corner, being the wife of Captain Daniel Hall, and the mother of Miss Caroline B. Hall, who now lives in the Hall homestead at Hall's Corner, Duxbury. Mrs. Hall was a woman of remarkable brightness of mind until the time of her death, and her memory was unfailing. Mrs. Hall often told her daughter, Miss Caroline B. Hall, and others that the burial place of Standish

was marked with two triangular pyramidal stones. When she was a young girl she was visiting at the house of Doctor John Wadsworth (who was born in 1706 and died in 1799), and she heard him invite two gentlemen who were visiting him to go and see the grave of Myles Standish. After the gentlemen and the Doctor had returned to the Doctor's home, Mrs. Hall, at that time unmarried, heard the Doctor and his guests speak of the strange stones that marked the burial place, and heard the Doctor express his surprise that two such stones, triangular pyramids, could have been found for that purpose. This tradition Mrs. Hall frequently mentioned.

Let us now examine the value of this tradition. If it were false, a proof could easily be supplied by digging in the place pointed out. If it were true, the graves would agree in their testimony with the testimony of the Captain's will. Dr. Wadsworth could have had no inducement to tell a lie about the matter.

But what positive value has Doctor John Wadsworth's testimony? His testimony is of value in proportion to his opportunities of knowing the truth, and his power of remembering it and handing it down.

That Doctor John Wadsworth was a capable and trustworthy witness, all admit. He was considered one of the leading men of the town in his time. His history shows a man of great power and originality. He was born in 1706 and died in 1799. He was the great grandson of Christopher Wadsworth, who was one of the most important of the first settlers. This Christopher was over and over again one of the chief officers of the town. His land included all the land now occupied by Ellis Peterson, Mrs. Thomas Chandler, Mrs. Myrick, George Frank Ryder, George Torrey, Fernando Wadsworth, and all the land of the farms lying inside these farms as well as much that lay outside these bounds. Christopher Wadsworth was alive in 1677, as his will then made, testifies. He lived twenty-one years after the death of Standish. He undoubtedly knew where Standish was buried.

Christopher Wadsworth's wife, Grace, was alive in 1687.

Christopher Wadsworth's eldest son Joseph, was alive in 1689.

All these three would have known of the burial place of the Standishes, and have told their children about it.

Christopher's son, Deacon John Wadsworth, was born in 1638 and died in 1700. This John was 18 years of age when Standish was buried. Of his own knowledge, and from his father, mother, and others of the older people, he would most certainly have known the burial place of Standish. The wife of this Deacon John

was Abigail Andrews, who died in 1723. This Deacon John was the grandfather of Dr. John Wadsworth. So far then the Wadsworths had every opportunity of knowing all about the last resting place of Captain Standish.

The father of Doctor John Wadsworth, the son of the first Deacon John, was Deacon John Wadsworth the second.

He married Mercy Wiswall, the daughter of Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, who died in 1700, and who had been minister to the town from 1676 to 1700. This Deacon John died in 1750. He would have had the tradition in a direct line from his grandmother, his grandfather, his father, and other living witnesses of the Captain's funeral. When this second Deacon Wadsworth died, his son, Dr. John, was 44 years of age, and was capable of receiving the tradition, and of handing it down. When Doctor John's grandmother died, the Doctor was 17 years of age. We might add the evidence of Elisha Wadsworth, who was alive after 1714, and whose wife died 1741. This Elisha was the son of Joseph, the eldest son of Christopher, the founder of the family in Duxbury. We might also add the testimony of Captain Wait Wadsworth, the son of Elisha, who was alive as late as 1768.

So much for Wadsworth evidence. But Doctor John could have learned of the burial place of the Captain from many others.

Mrs. Alexander Standish, the wife of Standish's eldest son, was alive 1723. She would have known from her husband, who died in 1702, where the Captain was buried. And so of others. But the wife of Doctor John was Mary Alden, who was the daughter of Benjamin, the son of David, the son of John Alden. Now John Alden died in 1687, thirty-one years after the death of Standish. Alden would have known where Standish was buried. His son, David, was thirty years of age when Standish died. He, too, would have known where the Captain was buried. Mary Alden would thus have known through her grandfather, great-grandfather, and others, relatives and friends, where Standish and his daughters were buried. Thus Doctor Wadsworth would have the very best evidence on his own side and on his wife's as to the burial place of Myles Standish. David Alden here mentioned was born in 1626 and was alive in 1679; his brother, Jonathan Alden, was born in 1627 and died in 1697, and Abigail, the wife of Jonathan, died in 1725. Here are many other links connecting the generation of Dr. Wadsworth with the generation alive in the time of Standish. The links could be multiplied many times over.

From this it will be seen that Doctor Wadsworth had the very best opportunities for knowing about Standish's burial place, and from all we can learn the Doctor was a very reliable witness. His evidence was that Standish was buried in the south-eastern part of the town, in a church grave-yard, and that two triangular pyramids of stone marked the burial place. This evidence of the stones can be found only in the grave-yard between Hall's and Bayley's Corners. All the traditions are verified there. The graves themselves speak in evidence. When Doctor Wadsworth died, Mrs. Ruth Hall was twenty years of age. She was a descendant of Standish, being the daughter of Olive, the daughter of David, the son of Thomas, the son of Alexander Standish. This last was the son of the Captain and died in 1702, his second wife dying in 1723. Mrs. Hall, being a direct descendant of Standish, would take a deeper interest in all traditions about him than most people, and she handed down to her daughter and others the testimony she received from Dr. John Wadsworth.

Miss Caroline B. Hall, above mentioned, died in April, 1892; the writer attended her funeral.

CHAPTER XII.

The second line of testimony transmitted through Mrs. Hall is that coming from the Prior family. The Priors lived around the first church. One of them, Benjamin Prior, bought the old church when it was sold in 1707. The Prior family always lived in that part of the town around the old graveyard between Hall's and Bayley's Corners. The Prior tradition is, that Myles Standish was buried in the old graveyard just mentioned, and that his burial place was marked by two triangular, pyramidal stones. The Priors would have known the Standishes, and the Wadsworths, and the Aldens, and the Brewsters, and all the other families. They all attended the same church, and the same town meetings in the church, and they would have frequently talked of the Captain and his burial place. There were then no newspapers, no great number of books, to distract attention, and the families gathered around the log fires in the evenings would have talked over the first settlers and their lives and deaths. Thus the knowledge of Standish's grave would be general. Thus in every sense the evidence would be tested.

The Prior tradition is clear and strong. Benjamin Prior, the last of the family, who inherited the family place, was born in 1775 and died in 1867. He told Mrs. Ruth Hall that Standish was buried be-

tween Hall's and Bayley's Corners, in the old cemetery, and that two triangular, pyramidal stones marked the place. Mrs. Hall wrote this testimony in her scrap-book where it is yet to be seen. Mr. Prior told Mrs. Hall that the Prior family always held the above tradition, which came down from his great-grandfather, who was a boy of ten years of age when Standish died, and who handed down the tradition concerning the grave with the added circumstances that he, only a boy of ten years of age, remembered the funeral, which took place in the graveyard near his father's home. This evidence coming from young Prior (who, as he grew older, would have most abundant opportunities for having the independent testimony of the Standishes, the Aldens, the Wadsworths, the Brewsters, the Spragues, etc., etc.) is of great value. The location of his father's home was such as to give the boy an opportunity of seeing the funeral, and week by week as he went to service, or as he went to the town's meetings in later life, he would have been reminded of the funeral scene he had seen when a boy. It must be borne in mind that we are not dependent on the evidence of the boy, Prior, simply as a boy, in this matter. His evidence, confirmed by his elders and handed down afterwards to his son, then to his grandson, and finally to his great-grandson, comes to us with every mark of weight and authority. The last Benjamin Prior, who told the family tradition to Mrs. Hall, was born in 1775 and died in 1867. His father was born in 1740, his grandfather in 1699, and his great-grandfather in 1646. Each of these was named Benjamin. There could have been no inducement for any of the Priors to tell a lie about the burial place of Standish. The lie could be easily detected by opening the graves. The graves were opened, and, as we shall see, everything proved the truth of the tradition here given.

Another tradition is that of the Brewster family. The Brewsters lived near Standish, and they would have known of the Captain's burial place. Mr. Melzar Brewster (a direct descendant of the Elder) who lives to the east of the old cemetery near Hall's Corner, told the tradition of the family, received from his father and grandfather, that Standish was buried in the old cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners. This, Mr. Melzar Brewster said, was the constant tradition in the Brewster family; and besides he said that all the old people of the town, whom he remembered, always said that this old cemetery was the only cemetery in the early town, and the oldest one in town.

The tradition in the Faunce family is the same. The Faunces bought the farm

of Myles Standish within three years after the great-grandson of Myles had sold it. For one hundred years at least the Faunces held this farm. Their tradition is, that the first church and churchyard were where the old cemetery now is near Hall's Corner, that Myles Standish was buried there, that there never was a church or churchyard in any other part of the town until 1783 or 1784, and that the day on which Standish was buried was the stormiest day the new town had felt from its foundation. This last circumstance would fix the minds of the people on the funeral of the Captain.

The traditions are all clear and well defined, having been cherished in the families that lived near Standish and around the graveyard. It is impossible to find a tradition of any antiquity or value assigning any other place as the burial place of Standish.

The traditions about the Standish burial place exclude the notion that Standish was buried elsewhere than in the cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corners.

CHAPTER XIII.

Besides those already mentioned as having been alive at the time of the funeral of Standish and as being most likely to know all about it, we may also mention the following persons who lived in the town at the time. These persons would have known where Standish was buried, and would have served as witnesses to transmit the tradition.

Robert Barker, who was admitted a freeman of Duxbury in 1654, and died between 1689 and 1692, the dates of his will and of the inventory of his estate.

Benjamin Bartlett, who was admitted in 1654, and married Sarah Brewster; he died in 1691.

William Bassett, who died in 1669, and had land near the Nook, beside Sprague's land.

Thomas Boney, the town shoemaker, admitted in 1640 and died about 1693. Shoemakers heard all town news.

Major William Bradford born in 1624 and died in 1703.

Deacon William Brewster, (son of Love Brewster,) who died in 1723, being seventy-eight years of age.

Wrestling Brewster, son of Love Brewster, died in 1697. Love Brewster, the father of Deacon William and of Wrestling, married in 1634, and he had Nathaniel William, Wrestling and Sarah. Sarah married Benjamin Bartlett in 1656, the year Standish died.

There were several members of the Chandler family alive when Standish was buried and for many years afterwards.

Thomas Clark, who arrived in 1623 and died in 1697, at the age of 97 years.

Mr. William Collier died about 1671.

Philip Delano admitted in 1632, died about 1681. His son Philip was born about 1635, and lived to be over eighty years of age; his son Thomas was born about 1636 or 1637, and was alive in 1699, when he married his second wife, his first wife having been a daughter of John Alden. John, the son of the first Phillip, was born about or before 1640, and was alive in 1690. Samuel, another son, born a little after 1640, married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Standish, and was alive in 1686 and later.

William Ford, who lived in Duxbury as early as 1643 and died in 1676, aged 82 years.

Josiah Holmes married Hannah, daughter of Henry Sampson, and he was alive in 1679.

John Howland died in 1672, aged eighty years. His wife, Elizabeth Tillie died 1687, aged eighty-one years.

Henry Howland, of Duxbury in 1633, died in 1670. He was one of the substantial freemen of the town.

John Pabodie, of Duxbury in 1637, died about 1666. His son William was born in 1620. "A man much employed in public affairs and of much respectability."

William married Elizabeth Alden in 1644 and died in 1707 aged 87 years. She died in 1717 in Little Compton, aged 93 years. William Pabodie lived near Standish and Brewster, and had thirteen children, eleven being daughters. One daughter, Priscilla, married Rev. Mr. Wiswall; she died in 1720.

George Partridge, a yeoman, in 1636. He married Sarah Tracy in 1638, and died about 1695. His daughter Lydia married Deacon William Brewster and died in 1743. His daughter Triephosa married Samuel West. Samuel died in 1689; Triephosa died in 1701. Another daughter married Rhodolphus Thacher.

John Rogers, of Duxbury in 1634, was alive in 1660, the date of his will. His son John died about 1696; this son had married Elizabeth Pabodie in 1666; she was born in 1647.

Henry Sampson, who came to Duxbury with Standish and lived near him, and whose son Caleb married Mercy, daughter of Alexander Standish, died in 1684. Henry's son, Stephen, lived in Duxbury and died in 1714.

Abraham Sampson admitted a freeman in 1654, was alive in 1686. He lived in Duxbury from 1638. His son Abraham married Sarah, daughter of Alexander Standish, and this son was alive long after 1690. Isaac Sampson, son of the first Abraham married another daughter of Alexander Standish; he died in 1726.

Members of the Seabury, Simmons, and Soule families were also in town at Standish's death, and lived many years after that event.

Constant Southworth, born 1615, married Elizabeth Collier in 1637; died in 1679. He was in town when Standish died.

Francis Sprague, admitted in 1637, was alive in 1666. His son John, who married Ruth Bassett, was killed in 1676.

Alexander Standish, the eldest surviving son of Myles, died in 1702, and his second wife in 1723.

Captain Josiah, Standish son of Myles, lived in Duxbury where he was admitted a freeman in 1655. After a time he went to Bridgewater, but returned to Duxbury in 1663. Finally he left Duxbury in 1686 and went to Norwich, Conn.

Myles Standish, son of Alexander, lived in Duxbury and died in 1739. His wife, Experience, died in 1743 or 1744.

Ebenezer, a son of Alexander Standish, died in 1734, being 62 years of age.

Myles Standish, the son of Myles, the the son of Alexander, the son of the Captain, was born in 1714, inherited the homestead, and in 1763 sold it to Samuel and Sylvanus Drew, who sold to Wait Wadsworth, who sold it to John Faunce.

Rhodolphus Thacher, who married Ruth Partridge, was alive in 1686.

From all these names, and many others might be added, it will be seen that very many witnesses would have been able to hand down the tradition of the funeral and burial place of Standish. Undoubtedly these people often spoke of the brave Captain and told all of his life and death they knew. The chain of evidence could not be stronger. It is well to observe the dates and the intermarriages in the above list.

CHAPTER XIV.

We now come to the graves. For a great many years the old cemetery was neglected. There were no fences around it and roaming cattle strayed over it. The people seemed to neglect their dead ancestors. This was so for a great many years. People so careless of the graves of their dead would hardly have been the ones to care much for the traditions of the past concerning these dead. An end was put to this worse than indifference by the Rural Society of Duxbury. The Society sent a man to repair the fences and to fit up the graveyard. Mr. Melzar Brewster did this, and did it well. When at work Mr. Brewster found two stones marking the burial place of Lora Standish; they were covered with sand. Mr. Brewster raised them to the surface in the exact places where he found them.

Everyone was struck by the remarkable appearance of the stones and the old traditions about the Standish burial place were again brought to light.

The Duxbury Rural Society at last determined to test the tradition and obtained permission from the selectmen to dig in the place marked by the stones. Mr. Fredrick B. Knapp of Duxbury was president of the Rural Society and had charge of the searching party. In April 1889 the following were present at the first opening of any of the graves: Mr. F. B. Knapp, Mrs. Knapp, Miss Lucia Bradford, Mr. Lawrence Bradford, Miss Ford, Miss Caroline B. Hall of Duxbury, Mr. C. N. B. Wheeler, Mr. Sidney Lawrence, Mr. Rounseville of Powder Point school, Duxbury; Professor A. B. Hart of Harvard Mr. Charles M. Gaines, Duxbury; Mr. C. M. Doten of Old Colony Memorial Plymouth, and Dr. Jones of Kingston. The first grave opened was that marked by the two triangular pyramids of stone. The skeleton of a young woman was found; her teeth were all in the jaw bones, and were in a splendid state of preservation; her hair was a large coil of light color. From the fact that all the teeth were present, the young woman must have been nearly twenty years of age, and from the fact that they show very little sign of usage, she could not have been much over twenty years of age. The skeleton measured five feet two inches as it lay. All the indications pointed to a young woman about twenty or perhaps twenty-five. Those who saw the skeleton and were capable of forming a judgment of any value, all came to this conclusion: The formation of the skull was peculiar, so much so that all remarked it. The remains were placed in a coffin prepared on the spot and reburied. Parts of the original coffin were in a fair state of preservation. The ground is a sand-hill, and the nature of the spot has a great preservative power.

On the same day another grave was opened on the north side of the young woman's. Here a man's skeleton was found. The skeleton was nearly perfect. It was measured as it lay in the ground. It measured five feet seven inches. There was one tooth in the lower jaw. This tooth was very much worn. The cavities in the jaws where the teeth had been imbedded were filled in with ossified matter. There was a quantity of hair on the skull. The hair seemed to be of a brownish red. The bones indicated a man of powerful build and strength. Dr. Wilfred G. Brown of Duxbury, who saw the remains when they were placed in a new coffin, when the grave was opened a second time, in 1891, said he had never seen a skeleton giving such indications of physical strength.

The skull was, perhaps, the most remarkable part of the skeleton; it was in conformation exactly like the skull of the young woman on his right-hand side, and all present remarked their likeness to the formation of the head of Miss Caroline B. Hall, who was present, a descendant from the Captain.

The Rural Society committee proceeded no further. Some believed that Standish was buried here; others denied it, or denied that any proofs of it were given. Some measurements of the Captain's skull were taken by Doctor Brown in 1891; the skull was 21 inches above occipital protuberance, it was 21½ inches around, it was 14½ inches over the parietal bone from the bottom of the petrus portion of the parietal bone.

For two years nothing more was done about the Captain's burial place. As yet no one had taken the trouble to make an exhaustive and valuable search for the graves, and a careful examination of the evidence. During the early part of the spring of 1891 Dr. Wilfred G. Brown of Duxbury and the writer, after some conversations with Miss Caroline B. Hall, determined to test all the traditions to the utmost. Permission was obtained from selectmen to open more graves. The opening took place on Saturday, April 25, 1891. The following were present: Dr. Wilfred G. Brown, Duxbury; Prof. C. N. B. Wheeler, Duxbury; Logan Waller Page of Richmond, Va.; Charles Bartlett, Duxbury; Rev. E. J. V. Huiginn, Duxbury; Mrs. Frederick B. Knapp, Miss Ford, Miss Florence Ford, Miss Jacobs, Miss Loring, Miss Bartlett and Miss Clara H. Sampson. Mr. C. M. Doten of the Old Colony Memorial came later in the afternoon. The gentlemen above named opened a deep and long trench south of the grave of the young woman (Lora Standish) whose grave is marked by the two stones. No trace of a grave was found; the soil was hard for its nature; the layers of sand seemed never to have been disturbed before. Turning their attention to the north side of the man's grave (Captain Standish's), the diggers found the grave of a woman. The skeleton had a great coil of brown hair and a perfect set of most beautiful teeth. Not a tooth was missing; not a scratch, or a sign of much usage was on one of them. All signs pointed to a young woman between eighteen and twenty or twenty-five years of age. Portions of the coffins had been found in all three graves, and also portions of the winding sheets.

Night falling before the diggers could investigate all that was desirable, they postponed further investigation until May 12. On that day the following were present in the cemetery: Dr. Wilfred G. Brown, Duxbury; Frederick B. Knapp,

Duxbury; Logan Waller Page, Richmond, Va.; Frederick Stout, Auburn, N. Y.; Hosmer K. Arnold, Portland, Oregon; Hammond Braman, Cohasset, Mass.; Rev. E. J. V. Huiginn, Duxbury; Mrs. Knapp, Miss Ford, Miss Clara H. Sampson, Miss Jacobs, Duxbury, and Miss Ellen L. Sampson, Newton, Mass. The seven gentlemen named opened a trench north of the three graves already opened, and found two skeletons, one of a boy between nine and twelve years of age, and one of a child seemingly between three or four and five or six years of age. The child's skeleton, as one would naturally expect, was the most decomposed. From the state of the teeth in the boy's head and from the size of the bones one could form a close estimate of his age; the second growth of teeth was coming in, crushing out the first growth; several of the new teeth were in place, and in places the two rows of teeth were present, one growing up and crushing out the other. The hair, cropped short, was on the head. All the signs showed that it was a boy's skeleton. All these graves lie in a row, and are evidently the graves of members of one family.

CHAPTER XV.

Having possession of the evidence from the graves, let us see how this evidence corresponds with the facts about the Standish family.

From Standish's will we know that he was to be buried beside his daughter, Lora, and his daughter-in-law, Mary. From the same source we conclude that his son, John, died young. But we can prove that Charles and John died young even apart from the will. In the lists of the freemen of the town, in the lists of those sixteen years of age made at various times, and in the lists of those admitted to the freedom of the town, there is no mention of the names of Charles and John Standish. The list of those who were sixteen years of age in 1643 contains the name of Alexander Standish. This list may be seen in volume eight, page 190, of the Plymouth Colony Records. Mr. Justin Winsor gives the list on page 92 of his *History of Duxbury*, but omits the name of Alexander Standish. We know that Charles and John Standish were born before the 22d, May 1627, and this list of persons between sixteen and sixty years of age capable of bearing arms was drawn up in August 1643. If Charles and John were then alive and capable of bearing arms they would have been mentioned. It is probable that they were dead before this time. Their names are mentioned only once in the old records and that is in 1627. These boys were alive in 1627 and

very soon the Captain moved to Duxbury. All the probabilities are that these boys died in Duxbury, and were buried in the graveyard in Duxbury. It must be borne in mind that the burial place of these boys is not of direct importance in the question about the Captain's grave. We are simply concerned to find an old man buried near two young women, and the traditions about the grave of Standish point out these graves.

From the skeletons we see that the young women found in the traditional burying place were between eighteen and twenty-five years or so. Let us now examine the evidence about the ages of Lora Standish and Mary Dingley, the wife of Josiah Standish. Lora Standish was not born before May 22d, 1627, or she would be mentioned with the other children at that time. She died before her father in 1656, as he asked to be buried near her. At the outside then she could not have been twenty-nine years of age. Her father and mother were married after Aug. 1, 1623; three children were born before May 22d, 1627; Standish was in England for several months between these dates. After May, 1627, three children, Myles, Josiah, and Lora were born, and also a fourth, Charles. The skeleton of the young woman with the light colored hair, and the strikingly shaped head, would correspond with the age of Lora Standish.

As to Mary Dingley, the wife of Josiah Standish, she must have died young. Josiah was born after 1627, and at his wife's death in 1654, or 1655, he could not have been more than twenty-eight years of age at the most. Likely he was not quite so old. His wife would very naturally be younger. She was the daughter of John Dingley, admitted a freeman of Marshfield in 1644, but formerly of Lynn and Sandwich. She died in 1654, the year of her marriage. Others say she died on 1st July, 1655. She was buried in Duxbury near Lora Standish. Her age then could not have been far from twenty years. The skeleton found would correspond with her age. Portions of finger nails were found wrapped in the winding sheet.

The Captain was about seventy-two years of age when he died.

The ages of all the persons in question would bear out the tradition that the graves opened are those of Standish and his children. Before his own death two of his sons had died young, and his daughter, Lora, and his daughter-in-law, Mary. He had asked to be buried with his daughter and his daughter-in-law. He was buried between them. Tradition has always pointed out the place; the locations of the homes of the first three ministers from 1637 to 1700 were near the spot; the old roads all converged there; the farm boundaries all locate the church

there from the beginning; the public land was there; the public stocks and the pound were near there; the foundations of the first two churches are there, the first one in the south-east corner of the old graveyard, and the second one on the eastern side of the old road that bounds the graveyard on the east. All these positive proofs show that in the first public graveyard Standish and his children were buried. In fact those who would bury him elsewhere, would bury him beside the first church and nowhere else. We have found that he was buried beside the first church and nowhere else, and we have shown where the first church was. The notion that he was buried elsewhere is simply imaginary.

Taking into account the few hundred people buried in that old cemetery, and that there would not be one chance out of many millions of finding such a combination of graves as the above, exactly corresponding to the first five deaths of the Standish family, it does not seem that there is any room for doubt. The graveyard has not been used for over one hundred years. Taking all the evidence into account with the traditions, there is absolutely no room for doubt.

CHAPTER XVI

We now come to the objections made to the foregoing evidence.

We have dealt with the objections about his religion, and about his having been secretly buried.

One objector tells us that it cannot be shown that the graveyard where Standish was buried was in use before 1697 or thereabouts. The proof of this is that the oldest gravestone found is dated for that year. Even if we granted that there was no gravestone of earlier date than 1697, this would simply prove that Jonathan Alden, whose grave it marked, died in 1697; it would not prove that the stone was placed there in 1697; it would be no proof at all of the exact age of the graveyard. The oldest tombstone in Marshfield, in fact in the Colony, is marked 1651, but this will not prove that the graveyard was not in use before that time. The oldest stone in Plymouth burying ground is dated 1681, but no one thinks of proving from this that the graveyard was not in use long before 1681. There is the very strongest and most positive evidence that the graveyard where Standish lies buried is the first graveyard of the town, and remained in use until about 1783, when the site of the church was changed to the site of the present Unitarian church, or near that site; then the present graveyard was first used, the

graveyard following the church. It must not be forgotten that the first settlers were too busy at work on the new country, and in defending their lives from all dangers, to be able to spend much time and money on graveyards and gravestones. Only the richer people were able to have tombstones, and these were mostly imported.

Another objection made is that the stones marked the grave of Lora and not of Myles. The two graves are along side each other. It is most likely that Myles marked his only daughter's grave; she was likely his favorite child. Afterwards when he was buried beside her, it would have been easy for people to transfer the connection between these remarkable stones and Lora's grave to the grave of her famous father. Before the Captain's death people would have said that Lora's grave was marked by the stones; after her father's death they would said that the Captain's grave was just beside these stones, or his burial place was marked by them. The two graves are very close together. The stones are heavy, and could not have been easily displaced. If the stones had been placed at the Captain's grave, you can only suppose that in all these years some cause pushed the stones a foot or two out of place. The stones when found exactly marked the grave of Lora Standish, the Captain's daughter.

Another objection is that the length of the man's skeleton was so great as to prove that it could not be Myles Standish. A French traveler, this objection states, is the only eye witness who has left us an account of the Captain's size, and he says the Captain was a small man; therefore it is concluded, the Captain's skeleton could not measure five feet seven inches in the grave. In the first place, the Frenchman is not the only one who has left us an account of the Captain's size; in the second place, even if the Captain were small, De Rassiére does not say he was a dwarf; thirdly, a man five feet seven inches would be a small man; but what is more to the point is, that when a human body disintegrates in the grave, the bones fall apart and are crushed apart by the decayed coffin lid and the crushing earth, so that the skeleton in the grave is generally longer than the living man would be. A disarticulated skeleton measuring five feet seven inches would be a good deal longer than the Captain in life.

It has been cause for wonder with some that no jewelry was found in any of the graves. It is very unlikely that Captain Standish, a soldier of fortune before he came here, would have any great quantity of jewelry. Even if he had, the simple and religious notions of the people would have been opposed to burying jewelry with the dead. It was the custom of the

Pilgrims to encourage simplicity of life and dress at all times and their dead were buried reverently, but with simplicity. Absence of jewelry is what we should expect.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mrs. Jane G. Austin is the one who makes the greatest number of objections to our conclusions and to our proofs. It is necessary to consider her objections one by one, that all sides of this question may be seen, and all the proofs and objections fully considered.

Her objections will be found in her letters to the Boston Transcript of June 2, 1891, and July 3, 1891, and in the Old Colony Memorial of Plymouth of June 13, 1892.

1. She says the five graves found are not of one family.

Ans. This is assumed without a personal examination of the graves, the skeletons, and of the documentary and other proof on hand. Every candid observer admits that the graves are of one family.

2. "As for the five graves lying in a row it proves positively nothing at all."

Ans. As for the five graves, so far from proving nothing, they prove that an old man was buried between two young women, and that a boy and a child were buried in the same row. They prove that the skull of the man is very like the skull of the young woman on his right hand side, and that these skulls are very like the skull of one of the direct descendants of Standish, recently living in Duxbury; all these heads have a peculiar shape or conformation. The graves were found with skeletons corresponding to the first five deaths in the Captain's family, and with the skeletons bearing out the historical testimony as to age and sex, and also as to the positions of the graves of the old man and the two young women. These graves were found in what tradition and history point out as the first graveyard, and the two famous triangular pyramids of stone were marking the place.

3. The two boys, Charles and John died of plague in Plymouth in 1632-33. Therefore they are buried in Plymouth.

Ans. This is gratuitous assumption. Nobody can prove that the boys died in Plymouth, or died of the plague, or died at the same time. The evidence is opposed to all these assumptions. The graves deny that the boys died at the same time, and we are justified in maintaining that the graves of the boy and of the child are those of Charles and John Standish, as long as we can prove that their father and his daughter and daughter-in-law are buried in the same place. The evidence

will prove that the Standish family was living in Duxbury during the plague and not in Plymouth. The plague was in the hot season but Standish then lived in Duxbury. We have already quoted that document signed by him and others in April, 1633, promising to return to Plymouth in the winter season. They must have been in Duxbury in the summer of 1633, and during each summer afterwards. In fact there is nothing to prove that the men who signed that document did return to Plymouth in the winter; the churches divided in 1632, and there are other signs that the document was never enforced. Even if Standish were in Plymouth when the plague broke out, would it not be most reasonable to suppose that he would at once remove his family to Duxbury? Were we to grant that the Standish boys died in Plymouth, which we do not admit, would not their father bring their bodies to be buried in Duxbury, where he intended to make his home for the remainder of his life? Mrs. Austin suggests that Standish would not have removed his children to Duxbury when they were sick of the plague. She writes: "But if Standish's two sons died of the sickness in 1633, it was highly improbable that their father carried them away from the vicinity of Dr. Fuller then in Plymouth and who was the only physician of the colony." Here Mrs. Austin assumes that the boys died in 1633, of the plague, in Plymouth, and were buried there. These are all fancies without one bit of evidence. Then she assumes that it had been proved, or suggested, that Standish removed the plague-stricken boys during their illness from the care of Dr. Fuller! No one ever thought of such a want of common sense in the Captain. Even if his children did live in Duxbury, the settlers in Duxbury would all have to call upon Dr. Fuller in their illness until they secured a physician nearer home. Everyone knows that Dr. Fuller did go to Marshfield, and to greater distances than Duxbury, to attend sick people. Mrs. Austin, in her novels, which are supposed to be more or less historical, sends the doctors on longer journeys than that from Plymouth to Duxbury; by water that journey would be twice as short as by land. However it must be borne in mind that the graves of the boy and child are not of importance in locating the grave of the Captain from the evidence of his own will.

4. Speaking of the Captain's will, Mrs. Austin says: "If he had also two sons in the same burial spot would not he have spoken of them as well as of his daughter-in-law? And if the two young women had been buried in such fashion as to leave a space for the father between would not he have alluded to such an arrangement?"

Ans. The plain answer to both these questions is No. He would not have been so likely to mention the boys who died in youth, as his daughter-in-law, who died only a short time before himself. As he was not giving a history of the burial place of his family in his will, it is not likely that he would have mentioned that a burial place was left between the two graves for his own grave. In his will he plainly refers to the fact that he was to be buried near his daughter and daughter-in-law, in their well known burial place. He mentioned the place in which he wished to be buried, and in describing that place it was necessary to refer to his daughter and his daughter-in-law but not to the boys.

5. "These five graves have no dated stones, no parish record, no valid tradition."

Ans. In the Plymouth graveyard the oldest dated stone is for 1681; this will not prove that certain graves of earlier date are not known. We have never heard of graves having a "parish record." There is no "parish record" of any grave in the country.

That these graves have "no valid tradition" is not correct; the strongest possible traditions are attached to these graves in that graveyard. To assume the contrary is a simple begging of the question. In her second letter to the Transcript Mrs. Austin changes her language and says: "My saying that their graves had 'no dated stones' and the deaths no 'parish record,' did not mean as Mr. H. seems to believe, that in this they differed from other ascertained graves of the same day." Here she changes her language and attributes to me a belief I never held as to her meaning. No grave in the Colony had or has a parish record, in the sense of the term "parish record."

6. She says: "I should suppose that any student of our earliest burying-grounds would have learned that burial lots are a modern invention. In the early days the ground belonged to the town, that is to say to the church, for the interests were identical, and persons were buried where the survivors pleased. Burying hill in Plymouth is the oldest and best instance of an ancient New England cemetery, and there one frequently finds the headstone of an alien intruded upon a family group, and 'those who know' assure us that the ground is full of nameless bones above which other bodies have been laid. So the 'burial lot' must be set aside as an anachronism." This is from the letter to the Transcript of June 2, 1891. In her letter to the same paper of July 3, 1891, she says: "As for my statement that the phrase burial lots is an anachronism, as connected with the earliest burying-grounds of our country, I reassert it.

A burial place means a place allotted and divided off for the use of a purchaser or donee. This usage did not obtain in our early burying grounds and although families were naturally laid as near together as convenient, there were no rights of possession given to any individual or family."

Ans. In all this there is nothing to the purpose, because if we granted that families had no special places for burial in the graveyards, and if they were buried one here and one there, still in the case of Captain Standish we know that he was buried near his daughter and daughter-in-law. Mrs. Austin puts a private and strained meaning upon family "burial lot" which no one will admit. The "burial lot" does not in law or in common language mean exclusively a lot owned by purchase or by gift. There were places where families buried by themselves in all the old graveyards. Plymouth Burying Hill is itself a proof of this. Nor was the sanctity of family burial place, burial lot, or burial plot, or whatever you may call it, invaded except in very exceptional cases. The graveyard in Marshfield is proof of this; also the Granary graveyard in Boston, and all the old graveyards in the Colony. The graveyards of England, at the time of which we speak, show that family burial places were respected. Plymouth burying hill might be said to be rather a unique burying ground than "the best instance of an ancient New England cemetery."

The people of New England respected, as English Christians have always done, the sacredness of the family burial place. As a rule families do not intrude on families. Here the graveyards were owned by the town, and the people had permission to bury their dead in certain parts of the graveyard. Fathers desired to be buried with their families, to have their families buried together, and as the fathers were the voters who controlled all these matters, we may be sure they agreed to respect, as their forefathers had always done, the sacredness of the family burial lots.

7. Mrs. Austin says: "The three-corner stone theory took its rise in the summer of 1887."

Ans. This is not so. Mrs. Austin then first heard of it; that is all. Mrs. Austin undoubtedly wrote what she believed to be correct when she gave her version of the Prior tradition, but her version so contradicts itself, is so impossible in itself, and so contradicts facts that there is little hesitation in rejecting it. For instance she says the grandfather of the last Benjamin Prior was the boy of ten years of age who witnessed the Captain's funeral. The last Benjamin was born in 1775, and the boy who witnessed the funeral was

born 1646. These dates would make it highly improbable that it was the grandfather of the last Benj. Prior, who as a boy of ten years, witnessed the funeral of Captain Standish. The Prior history contradicts it too; it was the great-grandfather who saw the Standish funeral. This we have already discussed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

8. In Mrs. Austin's version Mrs. Ruth Hall is made to visit Benjamin Prior at his request at the poor house.

Ans. Mrs. Hall never visited Prior at the poor house, nor did he request her to do so.

9. The lady who informed Mrs. Austin of Dr. Wadsworth's testimony in the presence of Mrs. Ruth Hall about the two remarkable stones, is said to have stated that she did not know where Dr. Wadsworth took his guests, whether to Harden Hill or to the old burying ground at Hall's Corner.

Ans. The lady mentioned is not a witness in the case. Her evidence is of no value on this point. That she knew nothing of the precise place to which Dr. Wadsworth took his guests is of no more value as evidence than if we were to say that the Queen of England knows nothing of where Dr. Wadsworth took his guests. The facts remain about the two remarkable, pyramidal stones, and that Mrs. Ruth Hall handed down her testimony about them, and that no such stones have been found elsewhere than in the old cemetery, and that all history, and tradition, and evidence from the graves, support what we have said.

10. Mrs. Austin confuses the history of the two stones. She gives four different accounts of them. In her letter to the Transcript of June 2nd, she says: "Having heard the story I at once visited the grave, and at the first glance thought such very ordinary looking pieces of stone could not be those described as such unmistakable landmarks. Laying my hand upon one I found it very loose, and easily lifted it out of the earth, which it penetrated some five or six inches." In her second letter to the Transcript of July 3d, she says: "The origin of this theory was that when the three-cornered stones (one of which, by the way, is four-sided)." In her letter to the Old Colony Memorial she calls them "two little triangular stones," marking the grave, as she thinks, of "Alexander Standish," who died in 1703, or Josias Standish. In her "Standish of Standish" page 419, she says that the grave of Captain Standish lay across the valley from the Captain's Hill, and is "marked head and foot with a great three-cornered stone."

Thus we see she calls them "two ordin-

any looking pieces of stone," "two little triangular stones," "two great three-cornered stones," and finally says that one of them is a "four-sided stone." Then she puts them, (1) at Captain Standish's grave, (2) at Alexander's grave, and (3) at the grave of Josias Standish. Alexander died in 1702, and at one time she makes the Prior boy see his funeral, and another time the Captain's in 1656, at another time that of Josias who moved to Connecticut in 1686, died, and was buried there. Again she makes the boy, the same boy, ten years of age in 1656, and the same age in 1702, and the same age at the funeral of Josias, who was not buried in Duxbury at all.

Speaking of the stones she says she moved the eastern one, "easily lifting" it out of the ground which it penetrated but five or six inches. Mr. Melzar Brewster, who was employed by the Rural Society to put the old graveyard in order, distinctly told me that the stones were in the same position from the time he discovered them, before 1887, until May, 1891.

The weather marks on the stones, and the moss lines, etc., plainly showed how deep the stones were in the earth. The stone at the eastern end, or foot of the grave, measures two feet seven in direct altitude, and weighs seventy-nine pounds. Seventeen inches of its altitude were in the earth, and from the shape of the stone it would be impossible for the strongest man in Duxbury to easily lift the stone even with his two hands. The stone was in that position, Mr. Brewster says, before 1887, when Mrs. Austin first saw it. The stones were not removed at any time by those digging there. The diggers have told me so. The lateral altitudes of the faces of the stone at the foot of the grave were 17, 15, and $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The bases of the triangular faces were 9, 9, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. These measurements were made before the stone was removed from the position it occupied from the time Mr. Brewster discovered it until it was removed to be weighed.

The other stone at the head of the grave weighs one hundred and nine pounds, and is thirty inches in direct altitude. It was buried in the ground to a depth of nearly eighteen inches. The lateral altitudes of the triangular faces $12\frac{1}{2}$, 13, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the bases of the same faces measured 8, $6\frac{1}{2}$ and 11 inches. All these measurements were taken before the stones were removed, and also after they had been taken up to be photo-graphed and weighed.

All those who have seen the stones admit that for all purposes of description in a general letter on the evidence the stones would be rightly called "triangular pyramids." Mrs. Austin herself having seen the stones so described them in her "Standish of Standish" and in her letters to the Old Colony Memorial of Plymouth, and to the

Transcript. That she afterwards called one of them a "four-sided one" may be accounted for by the fact that one of the edges of this seventy-nine pound stone, which she easily lifted, was broken off, or sliced off. This edge is thicker than the other edges, and you can see at once that it was sliced off for about eight or ten inches of its length, as the edge still remains on the lower part of the stone. We are speaking of the stones as they are visible, just as in describing the external appearance of a house or of a tree we would speak of what was above the earth. What Mrs. Austin at one time calls a fourth side would be more aptly described as a thick edge. Those who are interested can see the stones for themselves.

11. Mrs. Austin admits that the arguments drawn from the public highways of the early town to locate the church are good from 1650. Standish was buried in 1656. Therefore, even she should admit the possibility that he was buried at Hall's Corner graveyard. If the arguments from the roads, etc., are good from 1650, they ought to be good from 1637 when the roads were surveyed, especially as they were the only roads for a great many years.

12. She says of the town or parish records that "all such records previous to 1665 were destroyed by fire."

This is not so. Many of the records of the town are to be found in the Old Colony Records, in the records of other towns at one time part of Duxbury, and in the present records of Duxbury. Some of the records were re-written after the fire had destroyed them. The records themselves witness this.

13. She says that the most important of the first settlers, with the exception of John Alden, settled in the Nook beside Captain Standish, and therefore the first church was built, not at Hall's Corner, but at Harden's Hill for the sake of convenience.

Ans. Anyone who examines the ground will at once see that a church on Harder Hill would be far more inaccessible and inconvenient for Standish and all his supposed neighbors than one at Hall's Corner. Again, the most important of the first settlers did not all, Alden accepted, live in the Nook and near the Captain. The most important of the settlers, after Standish and Brewster, were Stephen Tracy, Jonathan Brewster, Thomas Prince, Christopher Wadsworth, William Basset, Francis Sprague, the Howlands, Southworths, Browns, Bumpuses, Soules, Delanos, Pollards, Hilliers and others. These men lived on towards Kingston along the eastern shore towards Powde Point, and around the mill at Mill Brook and towards Duck Hill in Marshfield.

The notion, then, that the church was near Standish for the accommodation of himself and the chief settlers of the town is without foundation in fact. Every such argument would point to the place between Hall's and Bayley's Corners.

14. Elder Brewster "was their minister" for some years "though never ordained."

Ans. Elder Brewster was never the minister of the church in Duxbury, and never was called such by any historian. He was not even minister in Plymouth during the years when they had no minister. The most ever said of him in this matter is that he may have conducted service at times or led in prayer. There is no proof that he was ever connected with the Duxbury church. All historians, including Mr. Justin Winsor, call Rev. Ralph Partridge the first minister of Duxbury, Rev. John Holmes the second, and Rev. Ichabod Wiswall the third.

15. "A little house, probably no more than a cabin, was built for purposes of worship, and surely this would be in the vicinity of the Captain's and Elder's homes."

"The first church in Plymouth was built in 1648 and was replaced by another in 1683, a period of thirty-five years, and probably the first church edifice in the little settlement gathered about Captain's Hill was even shorter lived."

"Constant tradition" places this church on Harden Hill just north of the Brewster farm, and I am inclined to consider this tradition as very likely to be an historical fact."

Ans. Mrs. Austin, when reminded that in her "Standish of Standish" she buried Myles in the old graveyard near Hall's Corner, said she buried him there as a "picturesque possibility." In all this Mrs. Austin begs all her positions and proves nothing. No comment is necessary other than her own words in the Transcript of June 2, 1891: "One great stumbling block in the path of historical research is the proneness of the human mind to believe what it wants to believe, and to accept as proven that which is only tradition or fancy."

16. The graves of the early settlers were likely to be hidden "especially after the beginning of the Pequot war."

Ans. Even if the graves were hidden, the men who buried Standish would know where they had buried him, and his daughter's grave was known, as we see from the Captain's will. What connection was there between Standish's grave and the Pequot war which was ended nineteen years before the Captain died?

17. Mrs. Austin says that perhaps the Captain was buried on Harden Hill, perhaps in the vicinity of his own home, but

she feels "very sure not in the Hall's Corner graveyard," and she hopes his grave may never be discovered.

Ans. Her prepossession against the discovery of his grave unfits her for forming a fair and just judgment, as her rejection of all evidence further shows.

18. She says the conditions for the franchise in Duxbury were never enforced in the case of Standish.

Ans. She says this in speaking of Standish's religion, a matter of irrelevance from her standpoint. I felt obliged to speak of his religion, because some said he was a Roman Catholic, and therefore not buried with the pilgrims. In the assumption she makes she would have Standish, one of the founders of the town, demanding from others conditions for the freedom of the town, which he would not and did not demand from himself. Standish on this point was ruled by the townsmen, and they were not in the habit of making laws simply to set them aside.

19. Mrs. Austin, speaking of the old burying-ground at Hall's Corner, calls it the "Second Burying Ground," using capital letters, and so as to insinuate to outsiders that it was known by that name. Again she says: "Now if in 1675 the Second Burying Ground was a new one as the Duxbury argument claims."

Ans. As I am the one responsible for the "Duxbury Argument" I most emphatically say that our argument always contended, and contends, that the old cemetery near Hall's Corner, called by Mrs. Austin the "Second Burying Ground" was the first burying ground, and is known in Duxbury and the records of Duxbury as the old cemetery, not as the "Second Burying Ground."

20. Mrs. Austin cites some authorities in her letters to sustain her views. Those of them who can must answer for themselves. As to me no man's authority, as merely his, is of any use in matters of history.

The only things of weight in history are evidence and applied common sense. The location of the grave of Myles Standish is a matter of historic research. We have tried to follow out the lines of historic evidence. The public will be judge. In the treatment of the question it has been deemed advisable to examine all evidence brought against us, and to examine it exhaustively, so as to preclude the necessity of saying more. It has been my desire to so treat all traditions, proofs, and objections, that from my side this question may be deemed closed. One of the authorities whom Mrs. Austin cites, and on whom she lays very great stress as to his importance, was so devoted a collector of Standish relics from the old Standish cellar that the young boys

of the time very often scattered in that place Standish relics for his benefit. Some of those boys, now old men, have told me with a chuckle, how they loved to play pranks on the venerable and guileless antiquarian and how they enjoyed his delight in going over the same ground again and again and always with most remarkable success in finding modern Standish relics.

It seems unnecessary to say more, but Mrs. Austin in her "Betty Alden" has thought it right to say about the burial place of Standish:—

"In the absence of all proof in any such matter, tradition becomes important, and so far as I have been able to determine, the tradition that some of the earliest settlers were buried in the vicinity of a temporary meeting-house upon Harden Hill in Duxbury is more reliable than the tradition that Standish was laid in an old burying-ground at Hall's Corner, which, probably was not set aside as a burial place in 1656, the date of his death. That of Elder Brewster, concerning whose burial we have many particulars, is altogether unknown, except that it seems to have been upon Burying Hill. Perhaps that of Standish is there also, for when he says, "If I die in Duxbury I should like, etc., he may mean that if he dies in Duxbury he would fain be carried to Plymouth there to lie beside his daughters and his two little sons as well."

In this attempt at an historical novel Mrs. Austin assumes all her history, and even contradicts herself, and misquotes historical documents. She assumes a meeting house on Harden Hill; she assumes that Standish was buried there; she assumes as likely that Brewster was buried in Plymouth; she says perhaps Standish is buried in Plymouth; she assumes that his daughters are buried in Plymouth, and his two young sons. All these things she assumes as probable, or at least as possible. In her "Standish of Standish" she buries the Captain in Hall's Corner grave yard. She misquotes the Captain's will which reads: "And if I die att Duxborrow my body to be layed as neare as conveniently may bee to my two dear daughters, Lora Standish, my daughter, and Mary Standish, my daughter-in-law." This plainly tells whether his daughters were buried in Plymouth or not. The record of Nathaniel Morton (40 years secretary of the Colony), cited in one of the earlier chapters, states that Standish died in Duxburrow and was honorably buried in that town. Let the public judge of the value of Mrs. Austin's history.

It hardly seems out of place to say that John Alden is undoubtedly buried in the same graveyard where Myles Standish lies. John Alden in his old age lived and died in

the home of his son Jonathan. This son died in 1697, and his tombstone is the most perfect, as well as the oldest dated one of all the old tombstones in the old cemetery. Jonathan was without doubt buried beside his wife Abigail, who died August 17, 1725, and whose tombstone still stands in the old burying ground. The stone that marked Jonathan's grave is kept in one of the private houses in Duxbury. Now it seems almost certain that Jonathan Alden was buried near his father, who died according to some in September 1686, according to others in September 1687, and at the most only ten or eleven years before Jonathan died. John Alden, his wife Priscilla, and all the old settlers of the town lie buried in the old cemetery between Hall's and Bayley's Corner's. This seems certain.

Elder Brewster came to live in Duxbury and died here. Some say he is buried in Plymouth but there is no proof of this. The only argument to favor such a supposition is that derived from the word "returned" where it is said in the old document that after Brewster's funeral his sons "returned" with the governor of the Colony to the governor's home. From this the conclusion is drawn: therefore Elder Brewster was buried in Plymouth because his sons and the governor after the funeral returned to the governor's house. There is no force in such a way of arguing. Besides, this argument forgets that the governor at that time, in 1644, had a home in Kingston, and that as the Elder died on April the 16th, it is likely Governor Bradford was at that time in his Kingston home. It would have been as appropriate to say that the two sons of Brewster, Love and Jonathan, together with Mr. Prence, Mr. Winslow, Captain Myles Standish, and Governor Bradford "returned" to the governor's house at Kingston as to his house in Plymouth. Jonathan Brewster at the time of his father's death lived in New London, Connecticut. He had sold his Duxbury home to Comfort Starr in 1638, and we have seen that Starr afterwards sold it to Christopher Wadsworth.

While searching in the old graveyard near Hall's Corner I discovered a grave which had been paved with ordinary stones. The stones around the edges of the surface of the grave were placed on edge, and the inner portion paved with large and small stones. The grave had sunk so that the stones once on the surface were several inches under ground, and the roots of a cherry tree, long since cut down, had reached out ten or twelve feet and inter-nested themselves with the stones. The roots were quite large. All indications show that the grave is a very old one, one of the oldest in the graveyard. It lies between the Standish graves and the foundation of the first church. In so far as I can learn the

grave is unique in the old graveyards of Plymouth colony.

Everything being taken into account it is easily seen that the grave is that of one of the most prominent of the early settlers of the town, and is probably that of Elder Brewster, or of the Rev. Ralph Partridge, the first minister, who died in 1658.

CHAPTER XIX.

It will be of interest to cite one deed in reference to the relative situation of the meeting-house in the old times.

On pages 97, 98, etc., in the Book A of the Duxbury Records, the following records are found:

"We, the subscribers, selectmen of the town of Duxborough, have settled the bounds of several highways within said town as followeth, viz: Inprimis we began in the Captain's Nook at the fence, which is the partition between the farms of Miles Standish and Thomas Delano, Junr, near a red oak tree marked a little within the said Standish's land, thence running near north to two rocks about half a foot assunder near the range betwene Dea. Brewster and the said Delano thence on a straight line to the southerly corner of the fresh meadow lot of Benjamin Bartlett Junr, thence to the northwest corner of the said meadow lot, thence as the way now goes to the fence standing about fifteen feet to westward of the biggest barn on the farm of Samuel Barthit, Deed., thence straight to a heap of stones on a rising spot or knoll of land on the eastward side of the path that leads out of said nook, thence straight to a heap of stones nigh the corner of Israel Silvester's fence and the way now goeth up out of the nook opposite against a ditch or place gulled away by the rain down into Mrs. Wiswall's land, thence up to another stone pitched in the ground in sd Silvester's fence where he turns down to his house thence still upwards on a straight line to the south-westerly corner post of sd Silvester's leantoo adjoining to his barn thence on a straight line to a stone in his fence, viz still upward straight from the last mentioned stone still upward as sd Silvester's fence now goes till it comes to the land of Christopher Wadsworth, thence to a stone pitched in the ground which is the southeast corner between the land of Christopher Wadsworth and Benjamin Peterson, thence on a straight line to the upward corner of the land of Christopher Wadsworth, viz., that corner of his land which is a little to the southward of the meeting-house."

This highway was laid out 26 March, 1715, by Edward Southworth, John Simons, and John Partridge, selectmen.

Several other highways were laid out in different parts of the town by the same men, and all the highways are spoken of with reference to the meeting-house. The value of the above record, and of all these records, is to show that the meeting-house of 1715 could not have been at Harden Hill nor could it have been at Mrs. Thomas Chandler's. We know where it was, but even had we not the very clear records we have as to its site, we could determine it from these records of the highways. *But the church, the first church, taken down in 1707, and sold to Benjamin Prior, was within three or four rods of the one standing in 1715.*

Many other records might be added but it is not necessary for our purpose and we shall content ourselves with giving a copy of the Captain's will.

"The last will and testament of Capt. Myles Standish Gent. exhibited before the court held at Plymouth, the 4th of May 1657, on the oath of Capt. James Cudworth and ordered to be registered as followeth:

Given under my hand this March the 7th, 1655. Witnesseth these presents that I, Myles Standish Senr., of Duxburrow being in pfect memory yett deceased in my body, and knowing the fraile estate of man in his best estate, I do make this to bee my last will and testament in manner and form following:

1. My will is that out of my whole estate my funerall charges to be taken out and my body to be buried in decent maner and if I die att Duxburrow my body to be layed as neare as conveniently may bee to my two dear daughters, Lora Standish, my daughter, and Mary Standish, my daughter-in-law.

2. My will is that out of the remaining pte of my whole estate that all my just and lawfull debts which I now owe or at the day of my death may owe bee paid.

3. Out of what remain according to the order of this Government: my will is that my dear and loveing wife, Barbara Standish shall have the third pte.

4. I have given to my son, Josias Standish upon his marriage one young horse, five sheep, and two beffors which I must upon that contract of marriage make forty pounds yett not knowing whether the estate will bear it att present; my will is that the resedue remaine in the whole stocke and that every one of my four sons, viz. Alexander Standish Myles Standish, Josias Standish and Charles Standish may have forty pounds apiece if not that they may have proportionable to ye remaining pte bee it more or less.

5. My will is that my eldest son, Alexander shall have a double share in land.

6. My will is that so long as they live

single that the whole be in pteership betwixt them.

7. I doe ordaine and make my dearly beloved wife Barbara Standish Alexander Standish Myles Standish and Josiah Standish joint Executors of this my last will and testament.

8. I doe by this my will make and appoint my loveing friends Mr. Timothy Hatherly and Capt. James Cudworth, supervisors of this my last will and that they will be pleased to doe the office of Christian love to be healpful to my poor wife and children by theire Christian counsell and advise and if any difference should arise which I hope will not, my will is that my said supervisors shall determine the same, and that they shall see that my poor wife shall have as comfortable maintenance as my poor state will beare the whole time of her life which if you my loveing frinds please to doe though neither they nor I shall be able to recompenc I doe not doubt but the Lord will.

By me Myles Standish further my will is that Mareye Robinson whom I tenderly love for her grandfathers sake shall have three pounds in something to goe forward for her two years after my decease which my will is my overseers shall see performed.

Further my will is that my servant John Irish Junr. have forty shillings more than his covenant which will appeer upon the Towne Book alwaies provided that he continew till the time he covenanted bee expired in the service of my Executors or of any of them with their joint concert.

By mee

MYLES STANDISH.

March 7, 1655.

9. I give unto my son and heire apparent Alexander Standish all my lands as heire apparrent by lawful decent in Ormstick, Borsconge, Wrightington, Maudsley, Newburrow Crawston and in the Isle of Man and given to mee as right heire by lawful decent but surruptuously detained from mee my great Grandfather being a 2cond or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish.

by mee

MYLES STANDISH.

March 7 1655.

Witnessed by mee James Cudworth.'

When speaking of the five graves opened in the old cemetery we conjectured, and are justified in so doing, that the graves of the boy and child are the graves of Charles and John Standish, two of the Captain's sons who died young. We know that these sons were born before May 22d, 1627, for their names are given in the lists when the cattle were divided. The names are given in the order, Charles, Alexander, John; the name John is un-

derscored. It would seem as if Charles were the eldest son. Now in all the lists of those capable of bearing arms, of freeman of the Colony or any of its towns, of those sixteen years of age and upwards at any time, the names of Charles and John Standish are not mentioned. In the list for August 1643 of those sixteen years of age and capable of bearing arms neither of these boys is mentioned, and both must have been at least sixteen years of age at that time. The name of Alexander Standish is given in that list for 1643, though his name is omitted in the list given in Mr. Justin Winsor's History of Duxbury.

From these facts we would conclude that the sons, Charles and John, mentioned in the list of 1627, died young, before they were sixteen years of age. Or it might be said that they had left the country, or were physically incapable of bearing arms at sixteen years of age, or were incapable of being freemen of the Colony had they lived to grow up, or for some mysterious reason were excluded from the lists of soldiers, freemen, landholders, etc. The most reasonable supposition is that they died young. The graves of the boy and child found may have been theirs, and in all likelihood are theirs, but whether or not, this would not affect the arguments to prove that the graves of the man and of the two young women are those of Captain Myles Standish, his daughter, Lora, and his daughter-in-law, Mary Dingley Standish.

But the question arises, if Charles Standish died before his father, how does his father's will speak "every one of my four sons viz Alexander Standish Myles Standish Josias Standish and Charles Standish"? The answer is plain. In the list of 1627 Charles is mentioned first, as if he were the eldest son. In the will he is mentioned last, as if he was the youngest son, and Alexander is called the eldest son. Had the Charles mentioned in the will been the eldest son, he would have received the double portion of land, and he would have been heir to the English estates, even if we suppose that he was a sick man, or of unsound mind. But the Charles mentioned in the will, although one of the four sons, receives only as the younger sons receive, and he is not mentioned as an executor, although his three brothers, Alexander, Myles and Josias, are mentioned with their mother as joint executors of the will. This fact, of his not being an executor, would prove that he was not of age, or that he was of unsound mind, or that he was absent from the country without any hope of his immediate return. The first supposition that he was not of age is the most probable—taking all the circumstances into account, and remembering the fact that

these old people were very exact about the law of primogeniture. It seems very evident that Standish, who was a stickler for hereditary rights, would have taken care to have the names of his children given in the order of age both in the list of 1627 and in the will. From all which we conclude that he had two sons named Charles, that one of them died young, and that the other, born the last of his sons, is the one mentioned in the will. It might be suggested that the Charles Standish mentioned in the first list of 1627, and the one in the will is the same person, and that for some private reason of displeasure or other cause—the Captain refused to make him an executor. This is against all the probabilities, and the cause of displeasure is opposed to the fatherly and Christian spirit revealed in the will. Besides it would be opposed to the law of primogeniture for the Captain to appoint a younger son as heir to hereditary estates that were entailed on the eldest son. Of the supposition that there was only one Charles and that he was weak-minded—this supposition is against all the probabilities, and if he were weak-minded, it is

very likely that the solicitous father would have made some special reference to him in the will. The order of the names in the list of 1627, Charles, Alexander, John, and the order in the will, where Charles is last of the four sons, with all the circumstances taken into consideration, would seem to indicate that one son, Charles, the first born of his children, died before the will was made, and that another Charles, the youngest of all his sons, was alive when the will was made.

It is to be hoped that descendants of the founders of Duxbury will see that the graveyard where lie their ancestors will be put in decent order and kept in a respectable condition. Such neglect of the sacred dust of the dead is a lesson to future generations to be likewise careless, and most of us cling to the hope that our last resting places will be at least decently kept by those who come after us. Else what is the good of graveyards?

THE END.

NOTE. By an act of the General Court on the 7th of June, 1637, Duxbury became a separate town.

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